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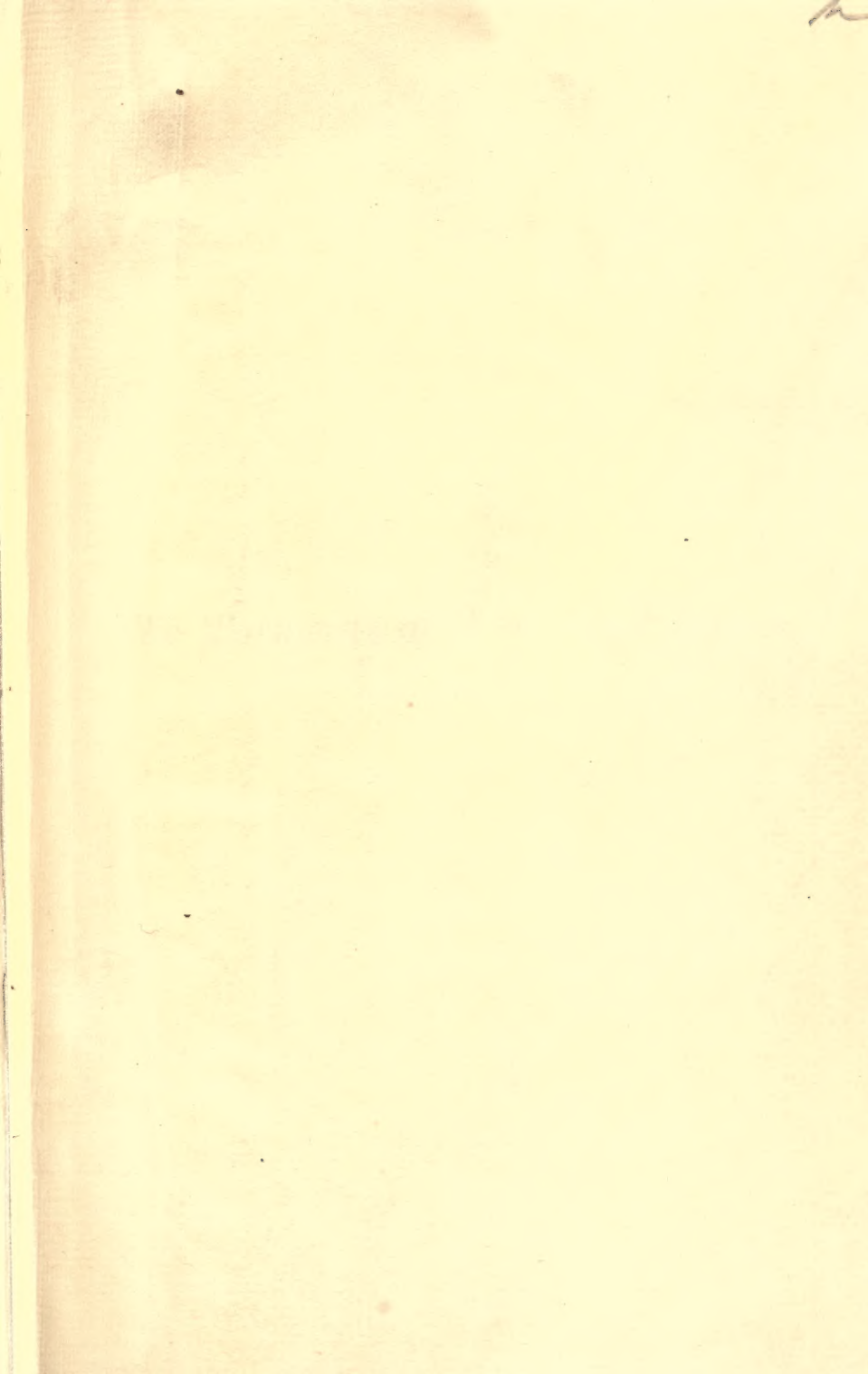
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Torments of Protestant Slaves

Edited by Prof. E. Arber



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The Torments of Protestant Slaves.

1686—1707 A.D.

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The Torments
of
Protestant Slaves
in the French King's Galleys, and in
the Dungeons of Marseilles.

1686—1707 A.D.

With some Illustrative Texts.

Edited by

Professor **Edward Arber**, D. Litt. (Oxon.), F.S.A.,

Fellow of King's College, London.

London.

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EMMANUEL



General Preface.

The central purpose of this Series of Books is not to excite the least ill will or prejudice towards any existing body of Christian men and women whatsoever: but rather to implant and cherish in the hearts of all its Readers a perfect detestation and execration of Compulsion in Religion; and of Persecution for Religious Opinions.

Christian History only too sadly demonstrates the truth of our blessed Lord's saying, 'I came not to send peace; but a sword'; because we mortals will not act upon the Golden Principle of Life that he has given us, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples; if ye have love one to another.'

E.A.



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Introduction.

- A** few words, at the outset, require explanation.
- Almoner.* The Chaplain of a Galley, or a Prison.
- Amende Honorable.* This degrading punishment is described at pp. 67, 68, 78, 419.
- Apostate.* The Government name for a Roman Catholic who turned Protestant. The Huguenots called such a one, a Proselyte.
- Argouzin.* The Boatswain's Mate of a Galley, or a Galley Serjeant.
- Bastonnade.* The Bastinado: which was not inflicted on the soles of the feet, as among the Turks, but on the back; with a tarred rope, dipped in the sea, and as hard as an iron bar, pp. 294, 392. This awful torture is described at pp. 285-296, 299, 390-392, 458, 459.
- Comite.* The Boatswain of a Galley.
- Coursey.* The raised Gangway, between the two rows of Slaves, of a Galley.
- Coursier.* The Chase Gun of a Galley, throwing a 36 lb. ball. It was placed at the Prow, on the Coursey.
- Exercise of Religion.* Public Divine Worship.
- Gallerian.* MAROLLES seems to use this word in the sense of a Protestant Galley Slave, pp. 207, 240.
- Missionaries.* The Fathers of the Royal Mission of France for the conversion of the Protestants; who greatly urged on the Persecution, and were ever increasing the torments of the Huguenot Slaves. They were the Directors of the Hospital of the Galley Slaves on shore at Marseilles. They also appointed and controlled the Almoners in the Gallies, p. 379.
- Relapsed.* The Government name for a Huguenot who, having become a Roman Catholic, afterwards returned to Protestantism.
- R.P.R.* 'Réligion Prétendue Réformée,' Religion pretended Reformed, was the Government name for the Huguenot Church.
- Suffering Society,* also called, The Chained Society. A small Association of the leading Huguenot Galley Slaves at Marseilles, p. 295.

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Temple. The building in which a French Protestant Church met for Divine Worship, p. 109. That at Charenton in Paris was practically the Metropolitan Protestant Church of France. JEAN CLAUDE was its Senior Minister at the Revocation; and refers to his instant expulsion from France, at p. 127.

All sums of money mentioned in this Volume should be multiplied twice or thrice, in order to ascertain the corresponding purchasing power of the same in the present day. Thus, 1,000 French Livres -- £100 then, or £200 to £300 now.

Introduction.

II.

It is not possible to deal adequately here with so vast a subject as this gigantic Persecution. All that can be done, is very briefly to touch upon the following points:

- III. *How did this prodigious and merciless Persecution, the longest in Human History, arise? How was it, that it became at all possible?*
- IV. *Who were its real Authors?*
- V. *Its relation to English History of that period.*
- VI. *Some other information from the English Envoy at Paris.*
- VII. *The Revocation Atrocities.*
- VIII. *What are we to think of the French Confessors of that Age?*
- IX. *Who were the supposed Gainers by it? and what was their success?*
- X. *What should the study of this Volume lead us to do?*

Besides all this; there is herein such a Picture of the French Galley Life of that Time as does not exist elsewhere in our language.

Introduction.

III.

How did this prodigious and merciless Persecution, the longest in Human History, arise? How was it, that it became at all possible?

1. **C**LAUDE, who lived in the midst of it all, tells us.

To begin with Matters of Fact. There is nobody but knows that, a while after his present Majesty of France [LOUIS XIV.,] came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War [of the Fronde, 1648—1653]; which proved so sharp and desperate as brought the State within a hair's breadth of utter ruin. It is also known that, in the midst of these Troubles, those of the Reformed Religion kept their loyalty in so inviolable a manner, and attended it with such a zeal and extraordinary fervour, that the King found himself obliged to give public marks of it, by a Declaration, made at Saint Germain, [May 21,] in the year 1652. Then, as well at Court as in the field, each strove to proclaim loudest the deserts of the Reformists: and [ANNE of Austria,] the Queen Mother herself readily acknowledged, That they had preserved the State.

This is known by all: but it will hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our enemies themselves a hundred times told us, and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, That this was precisely the principal and most essential Cause of our ruin; and of all the mischiefs which we have since suffered. Endeavours were used to envenom all these important services in the King's and his Ministers' minds, by persuading them, That if, on this occasion, this Party could conserve the State: this shewed they could likewise overthrow it, should they have ranked themselves on the other side; and might still do it, when such a like occasion should offer itself. That therefore this Party must be suppressed! and the good they have done no longer regarded but as an indication of the mischief which they may, one day, be capable of doing. This diabolical reasoning, which hinders subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid drawing on themselves chastisements instead of recompenses, was relished as a piece of most refined [*subtle*] Policy.

For, as soon as the Kingdom was settled in peace, the Design was advanced of destroying the Reformists. pp. 95, 96.

Introduction.

Consider we a while, what they make the King say— That at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the Design which he now comes from executing. They would say, without doubt, from the time he actually took in hand the reins of Government [in 1661]: for he was too young before to enter personally on any Design of this nature. He entered thereon then precisely at the time when the Civil Wars were ended. But what does this mean, but that he undertook this Design, at the very time when the Protestants came from rendering him the most important service Subjects were ever capable of! They came from rendering him the highest testimonies of loyalty; when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him! They had vigorously opposed his enemies' progress; rejected the most advantageous offers; kept towns for him, yea, whole Provinces; received his Servants and Officers into their bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere; sacrificed their estates to him, their lives, their fortunes: and, in a word, done all with such a zeal as became faithful Subjects in so dangerous a conjuncture. And this is the time, when the King enters on the Design of destroying and extirpating them!

This so confirms the truth of what we said in the beginning, that it puts it out of all question, That the Project of their Destruction was grounded on the services they had rendered to the King. p. 136.

2. The Huguenots as implicitly believed in the Divine Right of Kings as much as LOUIS XIV. himself did. CLAUDE tells us,

We know very well the Authority of Kings; and the respect and submission with which we should receive their Orders: and therefore have we [had], during all these unsupportable usages, a patience and an obedience so remarkable that it has been the admiration of the Catholics, our countrymen. p. 137. See also p. xxiv.

Elsewhere he wrote, in 1683.

The Protestants receive their Evils with all the respect and all the humility that they owe to a Sacred and Sovereign Authority; which they consider as the lively Image of that of GOD on the earth.

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3. This religious belief gave them a Patience that was simply miraculous.

BENOIT tells us, The Patience of the Reformists passed into a Proverb among the Catholics. When they wished to speak of a Patience beyond all measure; they called it, 'The Patience of a Huguenot,' 'Hist. of the Edict of Nantes,' iv., 459.

This is confirmed by the following statement at pp. 169, 170.

All those thundering Declarations and destructive Arrests (which continually were sued for, and obtained against us; and which were executed with the extremity of rigour) were scarce able to move any one of us. The forbidding of our Public Exercises, the demolishing of our Churches, and the severe Injunction that not so much as Two or Three of us should dare to assemble in order to anything of Divine Worship; had no other effect upon the far greater part of us, than to inflame our zeal, instead of abating it: obliging us to pray to GOD with greater fervour and devotion in our Closets, and to meditate of his Word with greater application and attention. And neither the great Wants, to which we were reduced by being deprived of our Offices and Employs, and other means of living; and by those insupportable Charges with which they strove to overwhelm us, as well by Taxes as the Quartering of Soldiers, both [of] which were as heavy as could be laid upon us: nor the continual trouble we were put to, by Criminal and other matters of Law, which, at the suit of one or other, were still laid to our charge, though upon the most frivolous and unjust pretences imaginable—I say, all these were not able to wear out our patience; which was hardened against all Calamities: insomuch as the Design of forcing us to abandon the Truth of the Gospel would infallibly have been shipwrecked, if no other means had been taken in hand for this purpose.

But, alas! our enemies were too ingenious to be baulked so; and had taken our ruin too much to heart, not to study for means effectual and proper to bring about their desires. They called to mind what a prodigious success a new kind of Persecution had had, of late years, in Poitou, Aunis, and Saintonge; which the Intendants of those places had bethought themselves of: and they made no difficulty to have recourse to the same, as to a means infallible, and not to be doubted of.

Introduction.

4. As Citizens, the Huguenots led an absolutely blameless life. CLAUDE says,

Yet, amongst all these Afflictions, we are not destitute of comfort. We, if ever any did, do truly suffer for Conscience sake: the malice of our Persecutors not being able to charge us with the least misdemeanour. We have served our King and the State with zeal and faithfulness. We have submitted to the Laws and to the Magistrates: and as for our fellow-citizens, they have no reason to complain of us. We have, for twenty years together, suffered, with an exemplary patience, all those furious and dreadful Storms afore-mentioned.

In these latter Storms, we have been like sheep, innocent and without defence. We then comfort ourselves in the justice of our Cause; and our peaceable deportment under it. p. 155.

5. And so, for those twenty years together, 1665-1685, we watch the Gathering of this dreadful Storm: during which time, some Four Hundred Edicts, Declarations, etc., were issued against the Huguenots; being at the rate of about one every fortnight. At last, the Storm burst, in the Dragonnades, and the Revocation, of the year 1685.

Introduction.

IV.

Who were its real Authors?

1. **O**n this point, we are able to adduce an Eye Witness testimony that cannot possibly be disputed, from the 'Savile Correspondence.' (Camden Society. 1858.)

HENRY SAVILE was the younger brother of GEORGE SAVILE, who later became the Marquis of HALIFAX. He was our Envoy Extraordinary at Paris from February, 1679, till March, 1682. He had previously been somewhat a Man of Pleasure: but his intimate association with the best Huguenot Society in the French metropolis led him strongly to advocate their Cause; and especially to write that noble Letter to Charles II., from which we shall presently quote. His Letters are addressed to his brother GEORGE; or to Sir LEOLINE JENKINS, the Secretary of State: with their replies. All the dates are of the New Style; and the references are to the Camden Society's Volume.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. June 5 1679.

[(FRANCOIS DE) HARLAY DE CHANVALLON,] The Archbishop of PARIS, and Father [(FRANCOIS D'AIX) LA CHAISE, do all they can to prevail with this King to make him revenge the Quarrel of the English Catholics [in the Popish Plot] upon the French Protestants: who tremble for fear of some violent Persecution; and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would, by easy Naturalization, make it, in the least, easy to them.

I find those who are rich are afraid our King should meddle with their affairs: but the crowd and the number talk of nothing but the necessity of his declaring himself Protector of the whole Protestant Religion; and live upon the hopes of seeing that Glorious Day.

How ripe you are for such designs I cannot answer: but, after some steps are made, I believe you will find this a very necessary one. p. 98.

I hear from England, I shall be forced to keep a Chaplain; which I never less needed: having never failed [going to the Protestant Temple at] Charenton one Sunday, since I came into France. How much more that is for the King's service, you cannot imagine; unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is. pp. 94, 95.

Introduction.

GEORGE SAVILE.

[London.] June 12 1679.

It becomes the zeal of the French Clergy to press the King to a Persecution, by way of revenge upon us here: but I will hope wiser things of the Government there, than that so unreasonable a thing should prevail.

However, if the fear of it putteth thoughts into the Protestants of removing thither; I am sure we must renounce all good sense, if we do not encourage them by all possible invitations. It hath ever been so much my principle, that I have wondered at our neglecting a thing we ought to seek: and those that have not zeal enough to endeavour it for preserving of our Religion, might have wit enough to do it for the increasing our Trade.

I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants; which I think the principal work of an English Minister in France: but I am apt to believe [that] it may make the Court there very weary of you; it being a method that they have of late been so little used to, that they take it for an injury. pp. 97, 98.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. June 16 1679.

The Judges [of the 'Chambre Ardente'], that were appointed to try the prisoners for poison, have their authority increased; by being also made Judges of all things relating to the poor Protestants here. By which means, I suppose we shall suddenly see more Temples demolished; their predecessors having condemned sixteen in Gascony and Poitou within these six months. Brittany and Normandy come next. I doubt [*fear*] these poor people have the worse quarter; in revenge of what is done to the Papists in England. Would to GOD, we had a good change made! p. 100.

HENRY SAVILE. Saint Germain. February 9 1680.

I am grown such a Pillar at Charenton, that very grave people, looking upon me as such, do often speak to me to prefer [*place*] Protestant servants in England. p. 136.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. February 28 1680.

My great assiduity at Charenton has gained me a general acquaintance and kindness among the Huguenots;

Introduction.

and, as generally the women are most pleased with such a proceeding, I have got into the friendship of the gravest.

They all think themselves unhappy, by being of a different Persuasion from the Government; [and] apprehending, daily, greater calamities than they yet lie under, most of them are disposed to marry their children rather into England and Holland than in France.

Amongst this number, there is one who will give 200,000 Crowns down, paid at London and in English Crowns, *viz.*, £25,000, with a very pretty daughter, as modestly bred as I have ever seen, and where there is as little exceptions, either to the Person or Family, as is possible.

She has given me full authority to look her out a Man of Quality in England; without further restriction than assuring me that there is but one in France to whose Proposals she would hearken; and that does not appear likely. So that my negotiation is most likely to take place.

To my own knowledge (Pray, speak not of this!) my Lord and Lady SUNDERLAND have had thoughts, ever since their Embassy [here], of having this young woman for my Lord SPENCER. She is just fourteen.

I think there is nothing more to be said upon this subject; but to tell you the name of this young creature; who is [ESTHER DE LA TOUR,] daughter to the [CHARLES DE LA TOUR,] Marquis DE GOUVERNET; a Gentleman of a very ancient family, and a most plentiful fortune, in Dauphiny. pp. 141, 142.

It is a delightful Episode in this tragic Story, to see such a confirmed old bachelor as HENRY SAVILE engaged in match-making in such anxious times. Curiously enough, ESTHER did marry, in April 1684, his nephew, Lord ELAND, the elder son of the Marquis of HALIFAX. He died in June 1688, without children; and Lady ELAND was buried in Westminster Abbey on 26th May 1694, æt. 28.

This negotiation however shows how intimate the English Envoy had now become with the Parisian Huguenots. If anybody knew the real state of affairs, he did.

GEORGE SAVILE.

Rufford. March 2 1680.

In the meantime, my credit with the French Protestants I owe wholly to you: your zeal being so notorious, that it throweth a lustre upon all your poor relations. It is enough
xxii.

Introduction.

to be akin to a man that goeth twice a day to Charenton !
Heaven reward you, for giving such countenance to the
Gospel ! p. 143.

This piece of raillery only confirms how intimate HENRY SAVILE
now was with the Charenton Congregation : as also does the following.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. March 23 1680.

As for the other Demoiselle, whom I would prefer to a
humbler condition ; your answer is obliging to her, and just
to your present domestics. But if any remove should make
room for her, you would much oblige us poor folks at
Charenton ; and me, as a particular Pillar of that place.
p. 148.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. November 30 1680.

I hear of another Declaration against the Huguenots ;
which, if true, will make brave work, *viz.*, That whoever
does not kneel, meeting the Host, shall be whipped through
the streets by the Hangman.

There is also an Edict coming forth, to forbid Marriages
between people of different Religions. p. 169.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. December 4 1680.

When the Edict against the Huguenots, concerning the
visiting their sick, passed the Parliament [of Paris], this
last week, it was spoken against by several with more
freedom than is usually there taken : but it passed, out of
obedience to the King's Orders ; not out of any approbation
of the thing. pp. 169, 170.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. January 15 1681.

Several Protestant Officers go from hence to the Elector
of Brandenburg [,afterwards, FREDERICK I., King of Prussia] ;
and are permitted to go. Those who go to the States
[General of Holland] steal away privately. p. 172.

We now come to the heart of this Correspondence, so far as the
Huguenots are concerned. HENRY SAVILE had been for thirty months
English Envoy at Paris, in the closest touch both with the French
Court, and also with the best French Protestant Society in that capital.
No Englishman could possibly know better than he did, who were the
real Authors of this great Persecution : which, he tells us, was invented
by the malice of the Jesuits, and executed by the boundless power of
LOUIS XIV.

Introduction.

The following statement, therefore, is of the highest possible authority.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. July 22 1681.

And now, Sir, let me say something concerning the Protestants of this Kingdom. Their present eminent Sufferings are known to all Europe: and I leave to Sir RICHARD MASON to add such particulars to what I have formerly writ, as will I hope make our Master sensible of their calamities.

It may therefore not be amiss to let him know what the World expects from him upon such an occasion; who is the chief Protestant Prince in Europe. If he be not Guarantee of the Treaty of Nantes; at least, he is so of one of the year 1626, which confirms that: and therefore is in as much right to take measures for maintaining that Treaty, as the late one of Nimeguen, of which he was Mediator. So much is certain as to the Right. Whether he should use it, and how far, will be the question.

The first, if not the only, Objection will be, That, upon his asking relief for the Protestants here, this King will do the like of him, for the Papists in England.

But upon what Treaty can the King build such a pretention? or what parity is there in the conditions of these people? We have Laws, of ancient date, actually in force against our Catholics; and were never yet put vigorously in execution. These people have positive Laws in their favour, as positively broke for the Persecution of them; notwithstanding the Guarantee of a foreign Prince. A body of ours [*the English Catholics*] are actually found designing mischief to the Government. The whole body of these are in perfect obedience; and have been so personally serviceable to this very King that, in one of his Edicts, he does himself own the Crown upon his head to their services in the last Civil War.

So that this ought to be no very prevalent argument to hinder the King from pleading their Cause: especially when (in all human appearance) both his Foreign and Domestic Concerns would receive new life from an avowed Protection of all the Protestants in Europe. A station GOD Almighty has so long offered to his Family: and would, no doubt, upon so sound a bottom, make him flourish equally with a great Predecessor of his own [, Queen ELIZABETH], who found this [to be] the only way to be quiet in her life, and glorious after it.

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Now, should His Majesty's circumstances admit of these measures; were not the properest method to begin with A Declaration to all Europe, in French and Latin, to offer countenance and encouragement to all such as, receiving prejudice from the Profession of the Protestant Religion in any other countries, could come and harbour themselves in his?

The effect of this would be, That no restrictions whatsoever would hinder these people from going to him; who submit to their Miseries here, for want of assurance of not finding [*that they may not find*] as great elsewhere: whilst the misrepresentations, given by some ill men, of the present position of our Affairs, make people balance; who would fly into England, upon the first Public Assurance [that] they should be well received there.

I have formerly urged, upon the same subject, to one of your predecessors, the number of French Seamen of this Religion, their willingness, and easiness of transportation; [and] the considerable number of wealthy people ready, with great sums [of money], to come to you. Nay, I had once (and hope, upon good encouragement, I could retrieve [*secure*] them) prepared a body of men, that should have brought you the Manufacture of Sail Cloth, so much wanted in England. But all this was upon the hopes of a Bill of Naturalization: which, so unfortunately failing, lessened my credit with them; as well as my hopes of doing a considerable service to the nation.

But all these matters may be recovered again, by a hearty Declaration; by some sort of Commission established for Strangers to address to, upon their first arrival; and by a Bank in the City on purpose for this use, that men may convey their estates with great privacy.

Though I have dwelt much too long upon this subject; I cannot omit telling you, The Ports of France are stopped to all Protestants under the age of sixteen. Three hundred were, upon it, refused passage for England, last week, at Dieppe: and though I know any Prince may stop his Ports to his own subjects; I question whether, in a case of no crime, they can regularly be debarred going into the territories of a Prince in amity.

I leave that circumstance, as well as all others, to your

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better judgement; craving pardon for this long trouble. Which I shall conclude with my most hearty wishes that His Majesty would concern himself as far in this matter, as can consist with his power and dignity, to free these poor oppressed people: who are like[ly] to suffer all the Miseries that can be invented by the malice of the Jesuits, and executed by the boundless power of this King; who, in things of this nature, hath given himself so wholly into their hands, that their credit with him has given jealousy to all his other Ministers: whereof not one does approve [of] these methods; but are willing, upon all occasions, to declare they are not the Authors of them. pp. 209-211.

The next two Letters were in reply to this noble Appeal.

GEORGE SAVILE.

London. August 7 1681.

In particular, I shall endeavour to justify my Protestantship, by doing all that is in my power towards the encouragement of those that shall take Sanctuary here out of France: though, even in that, our present condition considered, there is great tenderness to be used in the manner of it; that we may give no occasion for a higher Persecution against them there, or (by disputing the Prince's power over his own subjects) draw a question upon us, which would hardly be decided in our favour: and we are not strong enough to support our having the wrong end of an argument. p. 212.

Sir LEOLINE JENKINS. Whitehall. 28th July 1681.
7th August

What you write of the poor Protestants of that side, is great sense, and a noble compassion.

On this day sevensnight [21st July, O.S.], there was a Memorial, drawn by some of them already came over, read before His Majesty in Council.

His Majesty ordered Letters immediately to be prepared for his royal signature, to my Lord [Bishop] of LONDON, and my Lord Mayor, for the making a speedy Collection; to answer, in some measure, their present necessities.

The Memorial, His Majesty was pleased to refer to a Committee: and of Eight or Nine Points which the French demanded, as a help and an ease towards their transport and their settlement, there was nothing but what my Lords assented to, as far as things were practicable here.

Introduction.

I do hope the Collection in London will prove considerable; and may be so disposed of, as will best suit with the exigences of those people.

Besides this Collection; there is a Brief directed to be issued out, all the Kingdom over: and His Majesty hath, this day, agreed to everything in the Report and Advice of the Committee.

That great point of interceding for them with the French King, has not yet been debated. pp. 213, 214.

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V.

Its relation to English History of that period.

It will be well to give here in full, the Order in Council to which
SIR LEOLINE JENKINS refers.

At the Court at Hampton Court,
the 28th day of July 1681.

Present

The King's most excellent Majesty.

[WILLIAM SANCROFT,] Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY.	[EDWARD CONWAY,] Earl of CONWAY.
[JOHN ROBARTES, Earl of RADNOR,] Lord President [of the Council].	[THOMAS BELASYSE,] Lord Viscount FAUCONBERG.
[ARTHUR ANNESLEY, Earl of ANGLESEY,] Lord Privy Seal.	[LAURENCE HYDE,] Lord Viscount HYDE.
[HENRY HYDE,] Earl of CLARENDON.	[HENRY COMPTON,] Lord Bishop of LONDON.
[JOHN GRANVILLE,] Earl of BATH.	Master Secretary [Sir LEO- LINE] JENKINS.
[WILLIAM CRAVEN,] Earl of CRAVEN.	[Sir JOHN ERNLEY,] Master Chancellor of the Ex- chequer.
[GEORGE SAVILE,] Earl of HALIFAX.	Master SEYMOUR.
	Master [SIDNEY] GODOLPHIN.

HIS MAJESTY, by his Order in Council of the 21st
of July instant, having been graciously pleased to
refer a Memorial, presented to His Majesty on
behalf of the distressed Protestants abroad, to
the consideration of the Right Honourable the
Lords Committees of this Board for Trade and Plantations,
with directions to report their opinion thereupon; And their
Lordships having, this day, made their Report to His
Majesty in Council—His Majesty, upon due consideration
thereof had, was pleased to declare,

That he holds himself obliged in Honour and Con-
science to comfort and support all such afflicted Protestants

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who (by reason of the rigours and severities which are used towards them, upon the account of their Religion) shall be forced to quit their native country, and shall desire to shelter themselves under His Majesty's Royal Protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their Religion: And, in order hereunto, His Majesty was pleased further to declare,

That he will grant unto every such distressed Protestant who shall come hither for refuge, and reside here, his Letters of Denization under the Great Seal, without any charge whatsoever: and likewise such further Privileges and Immunities, as are consistent with the Laws, for the liberty and free exercise of their Trades and Handicrafts.

And that His Majesty will likewise recommend it to his Parliament, at their next meeting, to pass an Act for the General Naturalization of all such Protestants as shall come over, as aforesaid; and for the further enlarging their Liberties and Franchises granted to them by His Majesty, as reasonably may be necessary for them.

And, for their encouragement, His Majesty is likewise pleased to grant unto them, That they shall pay no greater duties, in any case, than His Majesty's own natural-born Subjects: and that they shall have all the Privileges and Immunities that, generally, His Majesty's native Subjects have, for the introduction of their children into Schools and Colleges.

And His Majesty was likewise pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, That all His Majesty's Officers, both Civil and Military, do give a kind reception to all such Protestants as shall arrive within any of His Majesty's Ports in this Kingdom; and to furnish them with free Passports, and [to] give them all assistance and furtherance in their journeys to the places to which they shall desire to go.

And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury are to give orders to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, to suffer the said Protestants to pass free, with their goods and household stuff, whether of a greater or a smaller value, together with their tools and instruments belonging to their Crafts or Trades, and, generally, all what belongs to them, that may

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be imported according to the Laws now in force ; without exacting anything from them.

And for the further relief and encouragement of the said necessitous Protestants ; His Majesty hath been pleased to give order for a General Brief through his Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick, for collecting the charity of all well-disposed persons, for the relief of the said Protestants who may stand in need thereof.

And to the end that, when any such come over, being Strangers, they may know where to address themselves to fitting persons, to lay their Requests and Complaints before His Majesty : His Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint [WILLIAM SANCROFT,] the Most Reverend Father in GOD, his Grace the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and [HENRY COMPTON,] the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of LONDON, or either of them, to receive all the said Requests and Petitions ; and to present the same to His Majesty, to the end such Order may be given therein as shall be necessary.

PHIL. LLOYD.

London.

Printed by the Assigns of JOHN BILL, THOMAS NEWCOMB,
and HENRY HILLS, Printers to the King's
most excellent Majesty.

1681.

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The national Collection, on this occasion, amounted to £3,319 in London, and £12,788 in the country.

The total amount of the Collections in England for the Huguenots, down to 1701, amounted to £136,382: independent of the Parliamentary Grant of £15,000 a year from 1695, referred to at p. 428.

2. The Reader must take special note, that the first four Texts, on pp. 1-182, in this Volume were in circulation in England before the happy and glorious Revolution of 1688; which they tended to make all the easier.

Although CLAVERHOUSE and his Dragoons were imitating the French Government in Scotland; Englishmen were quite determined that they would not be Dragooned out of their Religion.

The crucial question in the Trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688 was, Had the King's mere Declaration the force of Law or not? as was the case in France.

JAMES II. fully purposed to do in England *all* that LOUIS XIV. did with impunity in France. But the English people had had a better political education than the French nation. They had had their *Magna Charta*; and, for four hundred years after, their *one* national Parliament had met at Westminster. In fact, the bulwark of the British Constitution had already been largely built up against Royal Tyranny. So that JAMES II., when (by his ceaseless attempts to destroy English Law) he had united an indignant nation against him, very wisely for himself, ran away. As he knew well enough; there was always the *chance* that he might be beheaded, like his father.

3. That King's relations to the Huguenot Refugees in England are briefly touched upon at pp. 92-94.

4. For a subsequent Account of those Refugees in England down to 1707, see HILARY RENEU'S Preface at pp. 413-431; which is the latest information contained in this Volume.

5. Another side-light on English History is, That this Volume teaches us to understand what was meant, at that time, by the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and Non Resistance, to the Royal Authority; which was so preached up by the Hot-Heads and High-flyers of the Church of England to their Nonconformist brethren in those days. The Huguenots accepted that Doctrine absolutely: but our Nonconformists remembered Naseby.

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VI.

Some other information from the English Envoy at Paris.

Some further particulars respecting the Huguenots may be quoted here from 'the Savile Correspondence.' (Camden Society. 1858.)

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. March 1 1681.

The Commissioners for Religion do still proceed to destroy Temples in all places. That of Caen in Normandy escaped narrowly, about a month ago: but that of Quarenton was condemned; and the reason given, because it was too near the coast of England—which fright[en]s those of Dieppe; though theirs is named in the Edict of Nantes. p. 189.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. March 8 1681.

Eight Sea Officers were put out of their employments last week: only for being of the Religion: and such methods are taken, that, within a year, there will not be left any; unless perhaps the age and merit of Monsieur [the Marquis ABRAHAM] DUQUESNE may get him alone excepted. p. 189.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. April 26 1681.

You may have observed in the 'Gazettes,' of late, the number of Proselytes to the Roman Church in Poitou: of which, I believe, one of the most prevailing arguments is, [the] taking half the taxes from New Converts, and placing them upon those who remain firm; that, whilst 'they get Souls for God Almighty,' as they call it, the King may lose no money. All other mortifications of quartering Soldiers, etc., are not omitted. p. 193.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. June 25 1681.

The Huguenots are in daily expectation of a very severe Edict against them; by which any of their children shall be capable of choosing their Religion at seven years old. How this will correct the chastisements of their parents, and how it will expose them to the temptations of the Seducers, is enough apparent.

In Poitou, the quartering Soldiers upon them has made so many Proselytes, that the same trick is to be tried in Languedoc; and 500 Dragoons are ordered to march thither, for that purpose. pp. 197, 198.

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HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. July 2 1681.

The Edict I mentioned in one of my last, concerning the Huguenots and their children, does so alarm them, that they are making extraordinary Deputations to the King, to prevent it. By the next post, I shall give you a better account of it. In the meantime, our want of a Bill of Naturalization is a most cruel thing, in this conjuncture. p. 201.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. July 5 1681.

Old Monsieur DE RUVIGNY has given a Memorial to the King concerning the Edict coming forth about the children of the Huguenots. The King said, He would consider it. But these poor people are in such fear, that they hurry their children out of France in shoals: not doubting but this Edict will soon be followed by another to forbid their sending them out of the Kingdom. I will confidently aver, that had a Bill of Naturalization passed in England, last winter; there had been at least fifty thousand Souls passed over by this time. p. 201.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. July 12 1681.

I send you here the terrible new Edict concerning the children of the Huguenots. They are more sensible of this, than [of] all the former mortifications [that] have been given them. p. 206.

Then, in the order of time, comes that Letter of 'great sense, and a noble compassion,' from which we have quoted at pp. xxiii-xxvi.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. October 15 1681.

Here is great discourse of an assurance the Cardinal D'ESTREE has given the Pope, of the King's resolutions to extirpate the Protestant Religion in France. The truth is, the most trivial means are not neglected; and they have descended so low, as to displace Painters out of the Goblins, as unworthy to gain any livelihood: with other little severities, one would have thought, far beneath the observation of so Great Men as busy themselves in 'so noble a work,' as they call it, 'as the rooting out [of] heresy.' p. 229.

HENRY SAVILE.

Paris. November 21 1681.

I send this in favour of a Protestant Linendraper who, with all his substance, is resolved to retire into England: in order to which he has packed up his shop, and sent it in

Introduction.

specie to Dunkirk: having paid all the duties and customs, on this side, for exportation. But, being now told, 'That his Religion will not hinder the confiscation of his goods,' he goes first to London himself, before he will hazard his effects.

This being his case, he desires a recommendation to you, begging your favour and assistance; which I hope you will please to afford him as far as the Law will permit: which, if stretched a little upon the account of Religion, will not, I believe, give offence to the most rigorous Legislators.

This man will be able also to give you some lights into the method of bringing the Manufacture of Sail Cloth into England; the Project I have always appeared so fond of: which may entitle him to some favour; though I need not doubt but he will, from your bounty, find all the regular assistance desired, on his behalf, by, Sir,

Your most faithful, and most humble, servant.

Master Secretary JENKINS.

Here is a Protestant Haberdasher, in the same trouble about carrying his effects. Pray instruct me, what to say to such people, upon the like occasions.

I assure you, it is worth a serious consideration: for if you refuse to take substantial Tradesmen, with their ware, they will go into Holland; so that they will get the rich Merchants, and we only the poor ones. p. 236.

HENRY SAVILE.

February 13 1688.

In obedience to your commands, I have recollected what contests I had, during my employment in France, concerning the Most Christian King's new Edicts in point of Religion: from which I ever maintained that the [British] King's subjects were exempt.

Not to trouble you with every little accident of this kind; I shall mention the two most material:

The first was the case of Mistress BIKERTON: to whom, on her death-bed, the Commissary carried the Curate [*Curé*]; according to the methods of the Edict.

Of this, I complained to Monsieur DE CROISSY, who justifying the proceeding; I demanded an audience of the King himself: who, being prepossessed in the matter, did also
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argue the reasonableness of the thing. All my arguments against it weighed but little with him, till I showed him his own printed Edict; where it being particularly specified, 'nos sujets,' he did himself allow me in the right; and accordingly gave order that all Commissaries should be warned to forbear the like proceedings for the future.

The second dispute happened in the case of my Lord WILLIAM HAMILTON: to whom the Curate went alone, without the Commissary; contrary to the form of the Edict. This made my Complaint so justifiable in the manner, as well as the matter, that I would not be contented with anything less than the Curate's coming to my house to ask my pardon.

This, Monsieur DE CROISSY told me, was impossible to obtain; but, upon speaking to his Most Christian Majesty, he commanded the Archbishop of PARIS to order the Curate to do what I desired: which was performed so well, that nothing of the like kind happened during the remainder of my employment.

I shall add nothing further; but that I humbly conceive the King's subjects are, and ought to be, in France on the footing of the Treaty of Nantes: that being the rule of Religion there, at the time of the last Peace betwixt the two Crowns. If it be otherwise: so many accidents will daily happen, that it will at last be [a] matter of very great clamour: it being made, according to the new Edicts, very uneasy either to live, or die, in France. pp. 269, 270.

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VII.

The Revocation Atrocities.

1. **T**here is the merest glance, in this Volume, at these Enormities, at pp. 117-120, 157-182; the full Story of which can never be told.

These Atrocities will ever be a dark blot on the history of the brave French Army; seeing that they turned themselves into Cut-throats, Plunderers, and Tormentors, of perfectly inoffensive people; who made no resistance at all, and who were their own countrymen.

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VIII.

What are we to think of the French Confessors of that Age?

When the Reader has read the first four Texts on pp. 1-182, of this Volume; he will do well to pass on to BION's description of Life on a French Galley in those days, at pp. 437-447.

2. After which, he may turn back to the four chief Narratives of this book, *viz.* the Sufferings of

LOUIS DE MAROLLES, a cultivated Country Gentleman of Champagne. 1686-1692, at pp. 183-258.

ELIE NEAU, a naturalized British Subject living at New York, and the Captain of a small ship. 1692-1698, at pp. 259-280.

ISAAC LEFEVRE, an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris. 1686-1702, at pp. 303-412 :

together with the Narrative of

JEAN FRANCOIS BION, a Roman Catholic Priest serving as Almoner on the 'Superbe' Galley; whom the tortures of the Huguenots converted to Protestantism. 1703-1707, at pp. 433-460.

3. Interwoven with these Narratives, will be found

The frightful Labours and Sufferings of PIERRE MAURU. 1686-1696, at pp. 355-368; far surpassing those of SAMSON among the Philistines.

The Letter of the simple, but illustrious, Shepherd; who learnt to write since he was in bonds, at pp. 374, 375.

The Story of the Huguenot Maiden at Marseilles, at pp. 376, 377.

The Petition of Monsieur D. S. L., on behalf of the Huguenot Galley Slaves, to the Intendant at Marseilles; which made such a noise. June 1700, at pp. 381-384.

The pathetic Christian Letter of PIERRE DE SERRES the Elder, Oct. 8 1700, just after he had been bastinadoed, at pp. 393-394.

4. After the Peace of Ryswick, at which nothing was done to help them, the Sufferings of the Huguenot Slaves were increased. From June 1699, they were brought under the Tent at the Stern of the Galley, and there chained, during the Roman Catholic Divine Service. If they did not kneel and take off their Caps at the elevation of the Host; they were most cruelly bastinadoed, almost to death. This was the very height of barbarity. All Europe, Catholic as well as Protestant, exclaimed against this monstrous Inhumanity: so that the French Court, for very shame, ordered it to be stopped in July 1701. See pp. 281-302, 378-380, 389-398.

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BION witnessed a revival of this barbarity in 1703, pp. 457-459.

5. When we look on all this immense mass of Misery and Suffering; we have always to recollect that the Confessors had only to pronounce the two words,

‘J’abjure.’ I abjure.

to be delivered from it all. But those words were never spoken. They chose rather to lay down their lives than to utter them.

6. The Courage, the Fidelity, the Piety, and the Charity towards GOD and their brethren, of these Huguenot Galley Slaves were beyond all praise. They attained to a most exalted Christian character. Truly, they were indeed the Saints of GOD!

7. Their Letters are most beautiful. A number of other Letters, written by the very men mentioned in this book, will be found in the ‘Journal des Galères, 1696-1708,’ in the Eighteenth Volume of the ‘Bulletin Historique et Littéraire’ of the Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris.

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IX.

Who were the supposed Gainers by it ! and what was their success ?

1. **T**he Popes, the Hierarchy, the Priests, the Monks, and the Nuns, of the Church of Rome were thought to be the gainers by this Persecution ; so should the infamy of it, to the end of Time and through all Eternity, rest upon all those who took any part or share in it.

We must, however, discriminate. Doubtless, some of the French Bishops and many of their Secular Clergy secretly abhorred these Inhumanities ; which they were helpless to prevent, and which the Pope blessed.

It is indubitable that the Order of the Jesuits engineered the whole thing ; and therefore should the execration of the entire Human Race rest on that Order for ever ! Their crime against perfectly innocent people is passed all human forgiveness.

2. But the glorious thing of the whole matter is, That this frightful Persecution failed.

Councillor REYNAUD told LOUIS DE MAROLLES at Paris, on May 27 1686.

Before seven or eight months are at an end, your Religion shall be no more mentioned in France ! p. 215.

3. But HILARY RENEU, writing twenty-one years after that, says,

As, for instance, they gave out sometime since, That all the Protestants of France went to Mass ; and were really converted to the Romish Religion—than which, nothing is more notoriously false.

For proof whereof, one need only observe, That the present War [1707] having necessitated the raising of [the] Militia in France, Personal Taxes have been laid on the Protestants who refuse to go to Mass ; which serves as a Fund for the payment of the said Militia. So that the Clergy of France, who had promised the French King to extirpate the Protestant Religion and to make the Romish triumph, have done quite the contrary. For let them banish the Ministers, prohibit the Assemblies, exile them, and inflict even death itself ; if they please ! This doth not destroy Religion ; but only, as it were, cuts off those rivulets,

Introduction.

whose springs remain. For they cannot banish the Light of the Reformed ; nor hinder the Consolation of the HOLY GHOST! p. 421.

4. At this hour, Protestantism holds an important and honourable position in the national life of France ; and long may it continue to do so !

Introduction.

X.

What the study of this Volume should lead us to do ?

The preparation for the press of the heroic and pathetic Story contained in this Volume so affected me, that I went to Paris to get into touch with the existing French Protestants, the heirs of this great Christian Tradition.

I had there the opportunity of meeting with the representatives of the 'Union Nationale des Eglises Reformées Evangeliques'; and to find, among the members of those Churches, an eminent Christian Gentleman, who is willing to act as an authorized Honorary English Secretary, to answer in English any questions concerning those Churches, and to receive such donations or subscriptions as the readers of this Volume may be disposed to send to him for the same, or for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in France.

The address of this Gentleman is,

Monsieur ANDRÉ RAOUL-DUVAL,
26 Avenue Marceau,
Paris.

Our French brethren have great need of *effective* sympathy and help; especially since the Separation of Church and State in that country.

Will not some strong-souled English-speaking Protestants (whether Conformist or Nonconformist) interest themselves in their affairs; and offer to them both friendship and funds?

The 'Entente Cordiale Politique' is, and will be, a great blessing to the entire human race: but we ought also to supplement that, with the 'Entente Cordiale' of all Evangelical Christians; who so ardently desire to see the reign of our blessed Lord established in the hearts of all mankind.

May Almighty GOD ever have us all in his holy keeping!

EDWARD ARBER.



A True Relation
of the
Sad Estate
of the
Reformed Churches in France;
and several Passages of the great Persecution
they lie under.

§ Collected out the several Addresses and Speeches in print,
made unto the French King ;

by

A hearty Well-wisher to the Protestant [? Interest].

London.

Printed in the year 167[9].

Note.

This Text is taken from a small secretly-printed Tract, in the Library of Sion College (Victoria Embankment, London. E.C.), which seems to be rare: for no other copy has yet been traced.

Its Title-page is somewhat torn: but its date is fixed at 1679, by the reference, at page 29, to LOUIS XIV's Proclamation against 'Apostates,' of March 13 1679. E.A.

The Preface.

THE DISTRESSED CONDITION of the Protestants of France (who cannot expect relief from any, under GOD, but this Kingdom) hath moved me to publish this little Treatise of their Persecutions; and sooner than I designed, for that their total ruin seems to be at hand. From His Majesty's care of maintaining the true Protestant Religion in these Realms; and, in obedience to his command, the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, taking it into their consideration which way it may be settled on sure and unshaken foundations: I hope that this zeal will shew itself as forward in protecting abroad that same Religion with us professed in substance (some Ceremonies only omitted, which are used in our Church), as in preserving it uncorrupted from Popish superstition at home; not only Christianity, but even Humanity and our own Interest, obliging us to interpose on their behalf.

And though I know His Majesty's gracious and generous nature needeth not precedents or examples to incite him to it: yet I cannot omit some passages in the 'Memoirs' of the Duke of ROHAN; where he shows the zeal both of King JAMES and King CHARLES I. for the Protestant Interest.

King JAMES, in the year 1612, after a League made with the Queen of France against the Spaniard, hearing that the Edicts relating to the Protestants were infringed, he signified to the Queen, that, if she continued to persecute them for their Religion, that League should no longer continue: because, said he, 'Nature teacheth, when we see our neighbours afflicted for a thing that relates to us; we ought to consider the consequents thereof, so as to provide for it.'

Lib. 1 of the Duke of
ROHAN'S 'Memoirs,'
p. 29. Printed at
Paris. 1661.

The same worthy Author relates that, in the Second War against the Protestants, the late King CHARLES, *anno* 1627, in the third year of his reign, was so great a Patron of the Reformed Churches as to interpose as [a] Mediator;

and, with the consent of the French King, became their Lib. 3, p. 184; and Protector or Surety, that their Edicts of Lib. 4, p. 212. Nantes should remain inviolated.

He further saith, in his Fourth Book, page 207, that the King of England, after a while, hearing that they were again unjustly oppressed, sent a Gentleman, by name Mr. DE VIC, to declare to the Duke of ROHAN, how much he was concerned in the Persecution of the Protestants; and required them, on all occasions, to make their complaints to him, that, as he was Caution for the performance of the Edicts, he might demand satisfaction for the breach: and that, in case the French King should refuse, he would employ the strength of his Kingdoms, and expose his own person, in the vindication of the said Edicts.

And, in the Fourth Book, page 213, the Duke of ROHAN writes, That the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, being in the Port of Rochelle, sent to the Protestants one Mr. BEECHER, commissioned [*commissioned*] to tell them, That the King, his Master, hearing of the oppression of the Protestant Page 214.

Party, whereof he counted himself a member; and being moved with compassion towards them, and finding himself bound in honour to relieve them: he offers them his best succour by sea and land; protesting that he would not prosecute any pretension of his own, but only the performance of things promised them.

Since then, heretofore, it hath been accounted the Interest of England to protect the poor distressed Protestants in Policy, as well as on a Religious Account, by our former Kings and Princes: I hope it will be esteemed so now: and that GOD will incline both His Majesty, and all in Authority, to imitate them herein. Hereby shall His Majesty gain a great deal of honour and glory, render himself more formidable to his enemies, and have a great Interest both in the prayers and affections of many thousands of Souls; who, for want of his protection, are daily made weary of their lives, by the slavery and miseries they endure for their Religion. A sad Catalogue whereof (sufficient to melt the hardest heart), the ensuing Treatise will sufficiently discover: all the passages being collected out of authentic Authors; or the Speeches and Addresses in print, made by the Deputy General, and other Deputies, of the Protestants from several parts of the Kingdom of France, to their Most Christian King, as they generally term him.

A Brief Relation of the Persecuted Protestants in France.

THE CALAMITIES the Reformed Churches groan under, this day, are so numerous, whether we consider the Church in general or the particular members of it, that to give a Full View of them to the World would be a work of great time as well as labour. I shall, therefore, in this Narrative, as compendiously as may be, offer to your view several instances and cases relating both to the Church in general; and to several worthy persons, who, with an undaunted Christian courage and resolution, both have been, and at this day are, Sufferers for their Religion. All which instances are not to be considered simply in themselves, as Crosses befalling some particular persons: but as the Spring-head whence flow all those miseries wherewith the Church at this time is almost overwhelmed; so many families ruined, and reduced from plentiful estates to want of bread; and such Provinces and Cities filled with mourning and lamentation, as have been most inhabited by them.

The foundation whereon the Privileges and Liberties enjoyed by the Protestants are built, is on some Edicts made at Nantes by HENRY IV., King of France and Navarre, and proclaimed, after a solemn manner, to be irrevocable and perpetually observed, in the month of April 1598: and was published in the Parliament of Paris, the 25th of February 1599.

There were Edicts, before this, passed in favour of the Protestants, during the reigns of FRANCIS I., HENRY II., FRANCIS II.; and by CHARLES IX., in the beginning of his reign, in the month of January 1561: whereby the Protestants had leave to assemble together to hear the Word preached

Coligni's head carried to Rome, as a trophy. 1679.

in all parts of the Kingdom; provided they met without their City Gates.

The year following [1562], he made a second Edict, permitting them to preach in their Cities: every person nobly descended having likewise a Privilege granted him of keeping a Minister to preach and administer the Sacraments. This Peace lasted till the month of September [1565].

Second War.

The Second Troubles broke out in the year 1565, and ended in the year 1568: the former Edict being confirmed to them, which was made in 1562; justly termed by the Protestants, 'The Dissembling or Feigned Edict'; as by what followeth will plainly appear.

Third War.

For in the month of August, *anno* 1568, the Third Troubles broke out; and continued until the month of August 1570. At which time, the Protestants willingly embraced, as they did at all other times, a Peace: and, in favour of them, the King published many Edicts; which, for brevity sake, I shall not here relate.

Fourth War.

But SATAN, the great Author of all sedition, division, and cruelty, stirred up Instruments to disturb their peace, on the 24th of August 1572, being Saint Bartholomew's Day, a day never to be forgotten by Protestants; whereon they massacred most treacherously more than Seventy Thousand Protestants, so that the streets of Paris ran down
The Admiral with blood: and, among them, Admiral
COLIGNI's head COLIGNI and several persons of great Quality,
was carried, as a who, for that very end and purpose, were
Trophy, to Rome; invited to the Court by that treacherous
as THUANUS, and bloody Prince, under specious pretences
De Carolo IX, of kindness.
p. 818.

This cruel and deceitful practice occasioned a Fourth War or Commotion in the Kingdom; which was, in the month of July 1573, appeased by another Edict.

Fifth War.

In February 1574, the Fifth Commotion began; and many Papists in that Kingdom, by reason of oppression,

joined with the Protestants in taking up Arms for the defence of their Privileges: but these Troubles ended in 1576; their former Edicts being augmented and confirmed.

Sixth War.

This advantageous Peace to the Protestants being made; at a general Convocation of the States at Blois, on the 24th of November 1576, an Address was resolved to be made to the King, That all Edicts formerly made in favour of the Protestants might be annulled; and only the Roman Catholic Religion be established throughout the Kingdom. Unto this request, the King, at the solicitations and earnest pressing arguments used by them and the bloody Clergy (who, on all occasions, were incendiaries, and stirred him up both to massacring of his loyal subjects, and [to] breaking all promises and Edicts made to them), consented; and confirmed it by Letters Patents, the 25 February 1577. These severe proceedings kindled a Sixth War.

But, before the States were separated, an Edict was given at Poitiers, in September 1577: whereby, though many Privileges formerly granted to Protestants were taken away; yet they, out of a love to peace, submitted to the King's Will and Pleasure. Only, by reason of the treachery they had met withal, they insisted to have Eight Towns delivered in hostage for six years; which was the Term of Peace promised by the King. But the King, according to the maxim among the Papists, 'That no faith is to be kept with Heretics,' did not long keep this Peace inviolated: but endeavoured underhand, in a clandestine way, their ruin.

Seventh War.

CHARLES IX. died in April 1576; and HENRY III. reigned in his stead. He was hardly warm in his throne, but his bigoted Council put him on the doing [of] many things equally infringing the Liberties of the Papists as well as the Protestants: whereupon a new War ensued; and the Duke of ALENCON headed them. In a little time, they grew so numerous and strong, that the King, to prevent those Evils which would inevitably accompany such a War, huddled up a Peace: confirming to the Protestants all former Edicts; and to the Papists, their former Privileges granted by his Predecessors.

HENRY IV., King of Navarre, succeeded him in the Kingdom, in the beginning of July 1591. The King confirmed the Edicts made by the late King, [in] September 1577, in favour of the Protestants; and declared that he would maintain the Privileges formerly granted to them. Although, on the 25th of July 1593, he abjured his Religion: yet his tenderness to the Protestants (knowing their principles to be such as that he might safely reign and rule, without fearing any disloyal attempts, as afterwards he found from the pretended mortified Monks and Jesuits) was such, that, at Nantes, he proclaimed that Edict; whereon depends the only safety and Privileges the poor Protestants enjoy.

After the publication of this Edict at Nantes, which, as I have already mentioned, was *anno* 1598; the King caused a Publication hereof to be made throughout the whole Kingdom, and sent Commissioners in all his Provinces to see them put into execution, for the establishing of a firm Peace: which lasted so long as this worthy Prince lived.

This Edict had a larger extent than any that had ever before been made in favour of the Protestants; and was punctually observed during his reign. He was stabbed by RAVAILLAC: one by most imagined to be set on work by the Duke of GUISE; for that [*because*] in his house that villain had been privately harboured for some days before that bloody act.

LOUIS XIII. succeeded him: but, instead of being such a friend to the Protestants, he used all severity towards them. In the beginning of his reign, he raised an army; and took from them all Forts, or whatever Towns of Strength, they had had, by an interrupted right, many years in possession: but the King of England (as Defender of the Faith; and consequently concerned in the welfare of such as possessed the same Faith) interposing in behalf of the Protestants on all occasions, all former Edicts made by King HENRY IV. were confirmed and ratified.

The same Edicts have likewise been confirmed by LOUIS XIV., who at present sits on the throne of his ancestors: and, in the year 1652, by a particular Declaration, [he] did so much right to his Protestant subjects, as to confess they had given him proof of their loyalty beyond all he could imagine: and thereupon decreed that all Edicts, Orders, Declarations, or Proclamations, whatsoever, made

in their behalf, should continue in full force and virtue; threatening that whosoever should presume to act contrary to this Declaration should incur his high displeasure, and be esteemed a traitorous enemy to the Kingdom.

He likewise enlarged this Edict; confirming to the Protestants the Titles of several Churches which had before this been founded and built, with an irreversible Decree: the Romish Clergy, even then, being very busy; and endeavouring, by all means imaginable, to have them razed to the ground.

OF LATER YEARS, that viperous brood, to colour the like malicious Designs and attempts, have found out, or rather invented, some indirect ways to give a semblance of Justice to such practices; by accusing the Protestants of having unjustly erected new Churches since the Edict: hereupon requiring them to produce the Titles of all their Churches. It hath been their practice of old, on all occasions, to accuse the Protestants of passing the bounds limited in the Edict of Nantes: and two Commissioners, for this end, were usually chosen, the one, a Roman Catholic, by the King, the other a Protestant and elected by Protestants; the King's Council being Umpire, if at any time they differed.

And hereby the Romish Clergy, by specious pretences of Equity and Justice, have dexterously carried on their Designs to the destruction and ruin of the Protestants. The injustice of whose proceedings may by any impartial eye be discerned, if they consider, That whereas the Reformed Churches were wont to demand of the King a Commissioner to be by him appointed; and then made their own choice of the other, whereby they might be relieved whenever oppressed: the Clergy have refused the person by them elected, and have chosen some other, whom they might, either by his ignorance, easily guide their own way; or, by reason of poverty, with fair and large promises, easily pervert.

2. That, of late years, the Roman Catholic Commissioner hath usurped a Privilege to nominate his Partner, such a one as the Clergy have judged most fit to serve their Designs. An instance whereof, I shall give in one Monsieur SIGONIAK of the Upper Guienne, who was chosen by the Bishop of MONTAUBAN; contrary to the will of the Protestants, so declared before the King. This person, however, after such time as he had done whatever the Bishop and his crew would have him do, after he had robbed the Protestant Church of the little Treasure they had, to defray his expenses in following the business for which the Bishop

had chosen him, *viz.*, their ruin; he changed his Religion, as a recompense whereof, the Protestants were compelled to give him whatever he asked.

Another example I have met withal which I cannot omit, the more clearly to discover the illegal proceedings of the Popish Clergy against the Protestants. One Monsieur DE LA TAPISSERIE, of Burgundy, chosen Commissioner, the last year [1678], contrary to the will of the Protestants, was, by bribes and promises of preferment, induced to sign an Act for the Demolition of several of the Protestant Churches, whereof he professed himself a member; and which ever had been esteemed to be founded on a good and just Title. This Gentleman hath, of late, from a remorse of his unjust proceedings, confessed that he was put into the Commission by the Jesuits; and, for so acting, had an annual pension paid him by them.

3. That whereas in such Commissions, the one Commissioner cannot act in the absence of the other, and ought not to act without the consent of the other; nevertheless the Popish Commissioner is now become absolute Master, and hath gotten the sole power into his hands: and a Prohibition is issued forth, forbidding the Commissioner that should transact for the Protestants, to control the will and pleasure of the other.

4. That the Catholic Commissioners are wholly at the devotion of the Clergy is clear as the light. For common sense and laws of reason will, that since the Clergy is the Party accusing, that they shew the times and circumstances thereby to prove these pretended Usurpations; and to produce evidences for what they allege. For, all the world over, in such cases, two things are required:

First. That he that shall labour to dispossess another of his possession, shall shew by what power or virtue he attempts it.

Secondly. That the person in possession be kept in it, till such time as his adversary shall prove, by a more authentic testimony, that he enjoys his possession, not by right; but by usurpation.

Nevertheless these fundamental Maxims of Common Justice are overthrown, which concern the Protestants of France; as if they ought not to participate in Natural Equity and Justice.

Whenever the Clergy will dispute with, or control,

the Protestants in anything, whether the Titles of their Churches, or their Liberties, they shall be heard with all patience: which liberty is denied to the Protestants.

They have compelled them to produce the original Titles to their Churches, and to justify them: although, for above Eighty years their Titles have been deemed good and incontestable; and, by the Law, after Forty years of quiet possession, the Title is held to be good by the most rigorous Inspectors.

But besides a long possession enjoyed by the Protestants, it appears, and that undeniably, that King HENRY IV., the year after the publication of the Edict of Nantes, sent Commissioners into every Province, to inform him of the state and condition of the Protestants; and, under the hands of all Civil Magistrates, both in Cities, Towns, and Countries, had Certificates brought him; which, having narrowly examined and deliberately considered, he confirmed, and allowed them the Places of Worship they then possessed.

Nay, more than this! LOUIS XIII., his successor, sent other Commissioners for the same end and purpose, in the year 1620.

Shall the Establishment, or Title, of these Churches then, after so many Confirmations, be questioned? or is there any reason to dive any more to the bottom of them? or are Commissioners now chosen better to be believed than they that were then employed? Have these a clearer sight and inspection into things than they?

But supposing that their Titles were, by negligence, lost in so great a revolution of time, they not dreaming, after so many years, to have them questioned; with what Colour of Justice can they take any advantage thereat? Would they not, in Equity, be relieved; after that, by Commissioners, in the space of Twenty years, these Privileges and Titles were thrice examined and allowed?

But, besides this, they have much more to plead. For the disorders of War having caused some interruption in their Religious Exercises in many places; they procured an authentic Declaration, *anno* 1622; a second in 1626; and a third in 1629: by which the Protestants had granted to them the free Exercise of their Religion in those places which were allowed them in 1620. This is expressed in the

Declaration, *anno* 1626 ; and afterwards confirmed in 1629. So that we see, in those Times, the adversaries of the Reformed Church did not use so narrowly to search into the Establishments of the Protestant Divine Service. It was then sufficient to know, Whether they were founded, or had a being, in 1620 ? : the King's Declarations then deciding all such malicious contests.

Moreover, in the years 1649 and 1650, LOUIS XIV., King of France, gave two Decrees ; importing that the Protestants should not be molested in the Exercise of their Religion, nor in the possession of their Churches, nor in any other Privileges formerly granted to them : but that they should enjoy all things as at the time of his father's death. What reason then, or with what Justice, can the Clergy give them the trouble they do at this day ?

Neither is this all these distressed Protestants have to allege ; for more than five parts of their Churches are now demolished, for which they can produce authentic and undeniable Titles : as will appear by the Registry of their Christenings and Marriages ; by their Consistory Books ; by the enrolled succession of Ministers before, and ever since, the Edicts of Nantes ; by the Account Books of the Salaries from time to time paid to the Ministers. All which are sufficient evidences to the most scrupulous [*exacting*] Judges, but the Romish Clergy and their Commissioners ; who will not allow of anything that may favour the Protestants.

Although these evidences and proofs before the King's Council, and in their Courts of Parliament, have been allowed of ; although all the several Decrees and Edicts of HENRY IV. and all the translations [*? transactions*] of the Commissioners in those Times, and during the reign of the late LOUIS XIII., have been examined and narrowly looked into by inveterate enemies of the Protestant Church, and have been allowed of, as undeniable Testimonies : yet, of late years, they will not pass muster with them ; but they accuse the former Commissioners, either of inadvertency in not well examining the Titles, or of want of understanding, or of partiality. Thus have they found out a thousand wiles to disallow what hath been formerly done : so that, by such fallacious means, I may aver, nothing can have so good a foundation but they will shake it, if not overthrow it.

It were needless to produce proofs of this. They glory

in it themselves. Among them, a Monk of the Barnabite Order, and a Deputy from the Clergy of Bearn, boasteth in print that, of One Hundred and twenty-three places where the Protestants used to assemble to hear the Word of GOD, all Churches well founded, there remained but Twenty: the rest all demolished.

Some Churches have, either by war, or fire, or some Revolters in whose hands the Records and Titles lay, irrecoverably lost them; as, for example, in Brittany, Vitry and some others: and although they have, notwithstanding the loss of their original Titles, given good proof of their Churches' legal establishment; yet these testimonies would not be allowed of, but they were condemned to be demolished, by an Order of this present King.

There is no fence against their sophistry and malicious allegations. If the Churches are near the sea, then they allege that, by reason of their situation, they ought not to be allowed of; let their Titles be, what they will; as at Carantan in Normandy, although a Bailiwick. Sometimes they say, That the towns were taken by assault during the War. Many examples hereof may be given. The Church of Negrepelisse shall, for brevity sake, suffice: which was proved to have been in their possession ever since the year 1561, by such undeniable testimony that, with all their subtilty and craft, they could not gainsay it; but their Title, though never so good, could not hinder it from being demolished.

So far are they from being concerned for whatever the World shall say of their unjust practices, that they are arrived to that height of impudence as that, of late, they have made no difficulty of condemning one Church to be demolished, which is expressly mentioned in Twenty-eighth Article of the Edict of Nantes, *viz.*, Chauvigny in Poitou. This severe Act passed on it, the 6th of August 1665.

HEREBY MAY EVIDENTLY appear that the Court of France designs nothing more than the ruin and utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion: since neither Edicts, Declarations, or Decrees, heretofore made and oftentimes confirmed, shall be valid; and that it is not Usurpations they so greedily look at; but they use those Terms only as a cloak to their violent and illegal proceedings. For a further discovery of which vile practices, I shall specify several severe Decrees lately passed on the Protestants:

Of Threescore and One Churches in Poitou, there remaineth but One uncondemned, *viz.*, Niort: obliging therefore about 80,000 Souls to live without the Exercise of their Religion.

Of the Churches
that are
demolished.

In the country of Gex, of Twenty-three Churches, they have spared but Two; and these, they report, only out of their clemency: so that they lie open to the adversary, to be taken away at pleasure.

In Guienne, of Fourscore Churches, there remain but Three uncondemned by the Catholic Commissioner; who is wholly governed by a Jesuit, named, MESNIER.

In Brittany, they have condemned all, Vitry not excepted: according to the counsel of the Marquis de Chastelet [*i.e.*, PAUL HAY, Sieur de Chastelet, the Younger], in his Book of Politics, concerning the Huguenots [in 1669].

In Normandy, they have, with the like fury, prosecuted them, that few are left; except at Rouen, Caen, and Dieppe.

In Provence, of Fifteen or Sixteen Churches; [there] remain only Two or Three.

Let me now then put an appeal to any rational man's judgement, Whether it is probable that so many Churches, now become heaps of rubbish, had only Usurped, and not Just, Titles? as if in Poitou, there were but One that was legally established; and all the rest had no just foundations? The like may be said of other Provinces.

Languedoc, and Leaenes, and Vivarais, and Dauphigny are likewise filled with complaints for ruined and desolate Churches; not having a fourth part, in these respective Counties [*Provinces*], left them, of what they enjoyed: not to name those of Saintonge, Augumois, and Aunis, which are in the Black Book, ready to be condemned; and sixty others whereof they have but little hopes.

Is there any reason to think that these Churches, had their Titles not been good, would have been so long spared, that none of the Popish Clergy would have had a fling at them till now? or have complained of such Usurpations? None that knows them, or their malicious minds, can think so.

In the National Synod held at Montpellier, *anno* 1599, the sum of 120,000 Livres [£12,000] given by the King as a Stipend for Ministers, was divided after the proportion of Seven Hundred and sixty Churches: without reckoning places privileged with Liberty of Preaching, as many Manors, Cities, and Bailiwicks; or those that were ordered to be re-established by the Edict published in 1577.

How few remain of this great number, the sad Catalogue of the Ruined Churches will discover, which I shall annex at the close of this Narrative.

The Churches that have hitherto escaped their fury are in a continual expectation of being destroyed; their Titles being no better than those that are become ruinous heaps. Nay, many of those Churches are left untouched, whose

It is not permitted the Protestants to have their children baptized but in such places as, by the Edict of Nantes, are appointed for Divine Worship.

Titles may be with the greatest difficulty cleared; and consequently, at their pleasure, under some pretence of Justice, may be demolished: or else such are left, as are the most inconveniently situated, as in marshes, or low grounds which are often overflown, or else impassable in the winter; depriving, by such means, many good Christians of the possibility of hearing the Word; inso-much that, in many places, these poor creatures are forced to travel forty-five miles to hear a Sermon, or to baptize their children, which often die by the way.

And by reason of the many Churches demolished, those that are standing are not able to contain the tenth part [of the Congregations]: and the Papists, being enraged to see such great Assemblies, have brought their complaints to the

1679. Huguenots forced to destroy their own Churches.

King; and some Persons of Quality have been imprisoned. As Madame DE REYNIER; who, being amongst others accused, was sent to the Bastille in Paris, and, for some time, kept in suspense of her life: the crime laid to her charge, being only for having been present at an Assembly in her parish of Issoudun in Poitou; a Church, now demolished, which had above 3,000 Communicants. After this Lady had remained a considerable time a Prisoner; she was banished the Province.

The barbarous and inhuman manner of executing these cruelties, in the destroying of their Temples, is also very remarkable. For they are not only [*simply*] satisfied with their being demolished: but they will oblige the Protestants themselves to destroy them; that they may become equally guilty with these villains of ruining those places dedicated to the Service of the Most High GOD. And because many would not assist, or have a hand, in such a diabolical work; their houses have been plundered, and laid level with the ground: and great fines have been laid on them besides. This has been the case of many Persons of Quality in Poitou.

THESE INSATIABLE MEN have not been satisfied with these severe proceedings against the Churches: but, with the like fury, have they assaulted all the Protestant Academies and Schools; with which the whole Protestant Interest cannot but fall. Whence shall they be supplied with Ministers, if the Nurseries, wherein they are bred up, be destroyed?

The Academy of PUIS LAURENCE, established at Montauban formerly, was removed, out of this very Design to ruin it the more easily, as it appears: the Romish Commissioners having, of late, condemned it; and it lieth now in jeopardy before the King and the Council. The University of Saumur is in the like danger.

Howbeit the foundations of these Universities are firm and solid. For, besides a quiet possession of seventy years; according to the Edict of Nantes and other Edicts by HENRY IV. and LOUIS XIII., they were allowed and confirmed. HENRY IV. comprehended them in the gift he made them, *anno* 1599: and, in the Articles of Peace by LOUIS XIII. to those of Montauban, they were again ratified; and he formally promised to continue his bounty for the maintaining their Academy and Colleges. Likewise, in his Answer to Cahier, in 1611, the Nineteenth Article, he grants to the Academies of Saumur and Montauban the same Privileges, Immunities, and Prerogatives, as the other Academies in the Kingdom enjoyed; according to the will and intention of King HENRY IV., expressed in his Answer to Cahier, *anno* 1602, the Fourth Article. Yet all these Engagements and Obligations, both of Conscience and Honour, cannot prevail on these men to shew the least humanity.

WHERE AS, BY this Edict of Nantes, the Twenty-seventh Article, the Protestants were to be admitted into all Offices and Commands; and by the Declaration of LOUIS XIII., *anno* 1629, which said Declaration this present King hath declared should be duly observed; and by the Eleventh Article in the Treaty of Peace at Montauban, it is expressly allowed: yet, contrary to all these Edicts and Declarations, they are now declared incapable of any Office or Employment whatsoever; or at Montauban, Montpellier, Milhaud, Réalmont, Saverdun, Mauvezin, Casteljaloux, and many other places. The poor Protestants, in all Provinces, by this means, are so oppressed, that both their lives and fortunes are exposed daily to the barbarity of their enemies.

The Romish Clergy do not deny but that, by the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants ought to be admitted into Public Employment and Offices: but they maintain that it is contrary to Right; both Divine, Civil, and Canonical. To Divine Right, because it is contrary to the decency of the Roman Catholic Interest, that the faithful should bring their controversies before Infidels: and, as St. PAUL to the Corinthians, it is contrary to the Civil Right; for that he forbids them to place in any Offices of Trust or Honour such as are enemies to the Faith.

Thus these implacable enemies of the Protestants, as they have endeavoured to take from them their spiritual bread; so have they likewise laboured to take from them their temporal and corporeal bread. For, besides keeping them out of all Offices of Profit or Honour, they exclude them from setting up any Trade or Profession, unless they abjure their Religion; whether Shoemakers, Tailors, Apothecaries, etc.: so that, in many Provinces of France, the Protestant Artificers are brought to beggary and want of bread.

These proceedings are likewise directly contrary to all the Edicts both of HENRY IV., LOUIS XIII. and this King now reigning: those Edicts indifferently admitting the

Protestants, as well as others, into Public Charges, Offices, Dignities, and Employments.

But, alas, in lieu of these Privileges, many of the Protestants are banished; others have had their estates seized and confiscated; and others have been scourged by the hands of the Hangman. Some of them, after their death, have been taken out of their graves, and dragged along the streets on sledges. As, at Fontenay le Comte, a Gentleman, having a little before his death abjured the errors and heresies of Rome, was thus used after his death; his wife was most barbarously used for following his example, and for educating her children in the same faith; and the Minister, before whom this Abjuration was made, was seized upon, and cast into gaol for some considerable time.

And lest the number of Converts should too fast increase, an Edict passed on the 2nd of August 1666, called 'The Edict de Relapse'; whereby such as have once embraced the Roman Catholic Religion are, on peril of a perpetual banishment, forbidden to return to the Protestant Church.

What an unparalleled tyranny is this, thus to rack the Consciences of poor men! to constrain them, by force, to play the hypocrites! to appear visible Papists, having through ignorance been deluded: when, in their hearts, they are duly sensible of their errors; and, but for fear, would readily turn to the Protestant Church!

In the execution of this cruel Edict, so eager and violent have they been, that they have punished many from returning from Popery to the Protestant Religion, even before this Edict came forth. As one, named, JEAN GAYRARD, who, having turned Papist on the 2nd of August 1662; and, the year before this Edict, (being convinced of his erroneous and heretical Religion) having become a Protestant: for this he was condemned, in the Parliament of Toulouse, to be led by the Hangman, with a rope about his neck, only in his shirt, bare-headed and bare-footed, before the Cathedral Church of Montauban; and, at the conclusion of High Mass, on his knees, to beg pardon of GOD and the King. After this, he was fined and banished. This procedure is directly contrary to the Ninth Article of the Edict of Nantes.

In short, none can imagine the desolation in many

families, by reason of these barbarous Declarations. On the decease of a father, or mother; if, in times past, they have, either of them, been Roman Catholics, although they have, before their death, abjured the heresies of Rome, and before this Declaration: yet the children have been taken away by violence from the surviving parent, to be bred up in the idolatrous worship of the Church of Rome. They have thus robbed some parents of their children, and carried them away into Cloisters and Monasteries; and obliged the parents to allow them pensions, such as themselves shall think fit.

An example we have of this, in a Gentleman of Burgundy, named Monsieur DE FAROT. Because his Wife became a Roman Catholic, seven or eight years past; they took from him three children. One of them, being of twelve or thirteen years old, forsook his mother, being desirous to profess the Protestant Religion; and fled to his father: but was, in a few days, by force, fetched out of his arms, by twelve Pursuivants; and he was threatened never to see his child's face any more.

Many such like examples could I give. One BINDER, of Rouen, a Painter, was thus robbed of his children.

But herewith they rest not satisfied: but have, of late years, deprived parents of their children, where both of them have been bred up and continued in the Profession of the Protestant Religion. By such unjust and barbarous dealing, most Cities and parts of the Kingdom where the Protestants inhabit, have become dismal and solitary with mourning and lamentation. These transactions have been not only connived at by Authority; but encouraged: and at Rouen, in the Parliament, a Decree passed for the taking away of a young Gentlewoman (whose parents lived and died in the Protestant Religion) from her friends, contrary to her declared will and consent, to be educated in the Romish Church, under such a Guardian as the Bishop should appoint.

Unto this 'Declaration de Relapse,' as they style it, they have added another 'Against Blasphemers': which, as they interpret, reacheth to such as shall speak against the mysteries of their Religion. An Act of great importance, and which is the cause of innumerable Evils to the Protestants: for their Ministers, their Books of Controversy,

may, for their private discourses of Religion, they are liable, on all occasions, to be condemned for 'Blasphemy'; where the Romish Clergy shall be the Judges.

And whereas, by the Edict of Nantes, there was a 'Chambre de l'Edict, ou Mi-parté,' that is, a Court of Judicature, where all matters relating to the Protestants, in matters Civil or Criminal, were definitively determined: as may appear by the Thirty-fourth Article in the Edict of Nantes, whereby the Judges are decreed to be half of them Protestants, and the other half of them Roman Catholics; to the end that Justice might impartially be done to all parties, as is expressed in the Thirtieth Article.

This is confessed in a book, intituled 'An Explication of the Edict of Nantes,' written by a Papist, one Monsieur [PIERRE] BERNARD, the King's Councillor at Beziers. Printed at Paris, by the King's Printer, page 144.

But the Clergy, the better to compass their great Design, which is the absolute ruin of the Protestants, have, by their Interest in Court, procured an Order from the King and his Council, forbidding this Court of Justice to take any cognizance about 'Revolters,' or 'Blasphemers'; but that the Parliament alone shall determine what ought to be done: which, by the continual applications of the Clergy, are ready to condemn whatever comes before them. So that this 'Chambre de l'Edict' is now wholly taken away in most Provinces, as at Paris, Rouen, and elsewhere: expressly contrary to the Edict of Nantes; which, being composed of Ninety-two Articles, hath Thirty-eight expressly relating to this Court of Justice.

This great Privilege being thus abrogated, their lives and estates are at the mercy of their merciless enemies; the Archbishops and Bishops having the liberty, at their pleasure, to sit in Parliament: whereby the Interest of the Clergy becometh so considerable, that they carry all before them; and whatever they do against the Protestants, they account a sacrifice well pleasing to GOD.

The injustice done by these Parliaments against the Protestants is not conceivable; much less to be expressed: and all other Courts of Judicature follow their cruel examples; for every petty Judge in the country hath no other way to render himself famous, but

As at Toulouse,
Rouen, Rennes,
Bordeaux, Pau,
Provence, Dijon,
Metz.

1679. The Protestant Agents ordered to quit Paris.

by persecution. As the Judge of Mézières commanded for a rule to be generally observed, That all of the Reformed Religion should fall on their knees, when the little bell should ring, going before their Host or Sacrament, which they carry to sick people in their solemnity.

Monsieur FEMAUULT, Lieutenant General of Dreux, caused DANIEL SIBILLE, a Protestant Minister of Fontaines, to be carried away prisoner, his chamber to be rifled, and his body to be cast into a dark Dungeon, where he kept him a long while; and would not release him till he had paid a great fine: to punish him, as he pretended, because he had been one of twenty that had, five years before, accompanied a dead corpse to the grave.

So that the Protestants now can have no hopes of any Justice; not only in those matters that relate to their Treaties, Edicts, and Royal Declarations, and other particulars relating to their Liberty of Conscience; but also in Civil Matters: and when they appeal to the King or his Council, where their affairs are finally concluded; they cannot be heard.

It hath often happened that some Deputies of Provinces or Cities, sent by them, to make known their grievances, have received an express Order from the King to return home, before they could come to declare their business.

After this manner, Monsieur DE VIGNOLLES, appointed by the Province of Lower Languedoc, was used, when he went to Paris, to complain of the ill usage the Protestants had met withal. He was no sooner arrived at Paris; but one of the King's Pursuivants was dispatched to him; commanding him to depart the City in eight days, on pain of imprisonment. Likewise, Monsieur FAISSE, whom the inhabitants of Privas had sent with their orders, as soon as he did appear, the Captain of the King's Guard commanded him, in the King's name, to depart instantly; on the like peril of imprisonment.

And when the Province of Lower Guienne had sent Monsieur SARRAU to represent their grievances to the Court; he received a private letter, under the King's Seal, forbidding him to come to Court.

Many more such precedents might be alleged; and if some have been successful (after many difficulties, affronts,

and injuries), when they have come to have their Cases heard, many times no Advocate dare appear to plead their cause: and, when heard, let them bring never so strong arguments, and use never so much reason, they have been at last slighted and rejected, and their most apparent proofs scorned; whereas the least surmises of their adversaries have been counted good. They have sometimes spent whole years to pursue their affairs, and in expectation of audience: where as sentences obtained against them by the Clergy have been dispatched in less than twenty-four hours. Nay, many times, after long waiting and great charges, the Protestant Agents have been forced to return home, with the sad tidings of the loss of their juster Causes.

AFTER THIS MANNER, the Consciences, goods, honour, and the very lives, of these poor Christians are exposed to the cruelty of their merciless enemies, on a thousand occasions; without any help, or hope, of Justice. A Roman Catholic may, at his pleasure, destroy a Protestant. Witnesses are never wanting. The King's Attorney Generals, or their Deputies, or the Bishops' Syndics, or the Judges for the Convents or Ecclesiastical Chapters, will never fail to prosecute.

Some have been condemned to be chained to the Pillory.

Some have been fined 100 French Livres, or £10 English, for having made mention of a story related by sundry Authors. How a Priest endeavoured to cheat the World by a false miracle, by causing a vine to pierce through the head of an Image, which, being cut in the time of year that the sap mounts upwards, the sap would drop at the eyes: whereat the poor people were deluded; thinking the image had, without such art, wept of itself. This passed, a considerable time, for a great miracle: but at length the cheat was discovered.

Another Protestant was forced to stand in the Pillory, and was amerced [*fined*], for having said, That GOD had buried a Saint's body, for fear his bones should be adored; and that when the Devil offered to take them, an Angel from GOD withstood him, saying, 'The Lord rebuke thee!' This we find in Holy Writ, Deut. xxxiv. 6; and in the Epistle of St. Jude v. 9.

Another was cast into Prison; because he said, That the Romish Priests hid their lights under a bushel.

Another was, after the like manner, punished, and condemned to pay a considerable fine, only for saying, That the Cross they worship was but a piece of wood.

If any Protestant hath an enemy of the Roman Catholics, or a Suit in Law, he shall be most assuredly accused of having spoken amiss of the Pope, the Mass, or of the Virgin MARY: and their False Witnesses are ever ready; which, being sworn, the Protestants lose their Cause. And if these Witnesses be convicted of perjury; they are seldom

punished: or such light punishments are inflicted as serve rather to embolden them, than terrify. As the Priest of Eymet in Guienne, when he had accused a great many of the inhabitants of that place of having profaned the holy mysteries of the Church of Rome; the Judges found the accusation to be false: but though it tended to the destruction of the lives and goods of many of the inhabitants; yet he escaped unpunished.

The Priest of Châtellerault accused a poor, innocent, harmless, damsel of having spoken of the King in a disrespectful manner; for which she was in danger of having her tongue cut out, and of being whipped by the common Hangman. The Judges discovered this Priest to be a villain, and a false accuser: however nothing was done unto him.

Likewise, Monsieur DE LA TOUCHE was accused by the Abbot of La Chapelle, before the Parliament of Rennes, to have taken a Chalice out of a Church; for which he was burnt alive, by the order of that Parliament: and, since, his innocence hath appeared, and he found guiltless of the fact, by the execution of the right Offender. However, they have done nothing to repair the injury done to his name and memory; but declared, for that he was a Heretic, he hath deserved it!

Neither hath the Parliament of Toulouse taken any notice of a wicked Varlet that took a false oath against a Merchant of Montauban, That he had spoken amiss of the blessed Virgin.

The Minister of Pausange, one Monsieur ROBINEAU, was likewise falsely accused by an Augustine Friar and a Curate to have preached up sedition; and for this pretended [*alleged*] crime only, he was kept many months in the Prison at Poitiers: and though, at last, his Accusers were convicted for false accusations; he could have no satisfaction for all his sufferings.

Monsieur [JEAN] BORIE, Minister of Turenne, was also cruelly handled. He was cast into a deep Dungeon, put in fetters, threatened with death, treated in a most inhuman manner for a whole year; and at last was banished for ever, by an Order of the Parliament of Bourdeaux: only because, as they say, he used several expressions in his Sermons, which might seem reflecting on the honour of the Virgin; where as he said nothing else in his Sermon but this, That none but

JESUS CHRIST was born without sin.

The Bailiff of Privas was never punished : although he had been convicted, before the Judges of Vivarais, for having raised and encouraged false accusations against many of the inhabitants of Privas ; whom he accused to have hindered their brethren from changing their Religion, by terrifying their Consciences.

A Priest of Niort was convicted before the King and his Council, for having falsified an Order for the demolition of the Protestant Church of Niort ; which was intended against the Church of Mer : but was not punished in the least. Never was there a bolder attempt made before the King and Council : but, instead of treating him according to his merits, they laughed at what was done.

A thousand such instances might be given : but, for brevity sake, I shall mention no more.

WHEN SUCH NOTORIOUS crimes appear before the Judges ; they declare that the Roman Catholic Church must be preserved : not considering the incumbent duty upon them of punishing such vile offenders, and of doing Justice to all that come before them.

But that their Design is to suppress these poor Protestants, by all manner of unjust and violent means, is most apparent ; that, being thus wearied by continual vexations and miseries, they might, at last, the more easily be inclined to yield to the strength of temptation, to seek the freedom of their bodies by the ruin of their Consciences, and the abjuration of the Gospel.

They give all manner of freedom to the Priests and Monks ; whose carriage is very insolent, and prone to insult over the poor Protestants. They are the persons that execute the severe and unjust Decrees and Orders of the King against them : as in Poitou, where the Priests, of any, were the most eager and diligent in the destroying of their Churches, razing their very foundations ; overthrowing several private houses ; and rifling the Castles of several Gentlemen and Persons of Quality who professed the Reformed Religion.

If, unhappily, any division were in private families between Man and Wife, or other relations ; these firebrands and fomenters of strife (a certain sign or mark, as our blessed Saviour frequently speaketh, of whose offspring they are) would come and offer the Protection of the Church.

If a man is poor, and brought to beggary ; they promise him protection against his Creditors, and Mountains of Gold, if he will but change his Religion : imitating herein the old Serpent, who, with his fawning flatteries, beguiled our First Parents. They will undertake to provide for his children ; to put his daughters into Nunneries, and his boys into some Abbey, or good employment. But no sooner are they debauched ; but (as the Priests said to JUDAS, after he

had betrayed his Lord, 'See thou to that!') they slight them, and leave them in the lurch, their promises are forgotten; and, through despair of what they have done, [some] end their days, like JUDAS, with a rope.

If a lewd son would shake off his father's yoke, they shall flock to him with the greatest pretences and profession of kindness; pitying him, and promising great matters, if he will but join himself to their Church.

If a daughter be disorderly, or undutiful to her parents in this; after the like manner will they encourage her: promising to help her to a good Match. They entice her into their Nunneries of uncleanness: and will oblige her father to maintain her; and to pay great sums of money yearly, and rather more than his estate [*means*] can possibly bear.

If a man be prosecuted for any crime, the changing of his Religion is a sure refuge. By this means, the old Count DE LORGE hath saved his life; when he was in the Bastille, for coinage of money. Many others, by the like course, have escaped their due reward.

If a man be sick, and, by reason of poverty, is carried to the Hospital; his entertainment will be very harsh and merciless: and, unless he renounces his Religion, he will be forsaken by all, and die miserably.

A Danish Gentleman was carried to a Hospital at Paris, called, 'Hotel de Dieu'; being mortally wounded. The Priests earnestly pressed him to renounce his former Profession of the true Religion: but, finding him to persist firmly and immovably, they made use of false apparitions of supposed Devils; appearing with a Death's head, wherein they had put lighted candles, Telling this poor young Gentleman that he should be damned, if he did not turn his Religion, By these things, they so terrified him, that he died in despair, the 24th of January 1666.

The King hath, of late [13 March 1679, see page 66], put forth a Proclamation against all Churchmen [*the Roman Catholic Clergy*] that shall embrace the Reformed Religion; declaring them 'Apostates,' thereby to have the better plea to punish them. They are, by this Proclamation, to be banished for ever: which is contrary to the Liberty of Conscience granted by the Edicts to all manner of persons Ecclesiastical and

Civil. This, indeed, cannot but seem strange, that the Clergy should suffer their own Order to be treated in this manner: because they verily believe that the intention of the Priest is required in the Sacrament: and what intention can they have who, by constraint, are kept in the Profession of a Religion which they believe to be false? Methinks, they should be afraid of forcing men to be guilty of sacrilege, hypocrisy, and profaneness, against their wills; and making them so many Idolaters: for, according to their own doctrine, in such a case, if the Priest had not a right intention in consecrating the Elements, the people then adore nothing but Bread.

But this is not all the misery the Reformed Churches lie under. The Ministers are hindered from preaching the Gospel to their Flocks, for fear of having them scattered. Their mouths are stopped by threats and violence. They are forced to pay great sums of money. They are banished, cast into Dungeons; and, in short, used at the pleasure of the Roman Clergy.

Those Cities where the Protestants were most numerous and powerful have suffered most: as Montauban, Millau, Rochelle: which Churches were the most flourishing in France.

The first of these hath lost its University, its privileges and freedom. It has been pillaged; 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers being put [there] in garrison several months together. Many of the principal inhabitants have been, some hanged, others burnt. Others have had their houses plundered and demolished. Many, by severe and barbarous usage, have been constrained to go to Mass; and, at last, forced to accept a General Pardon for supposed crimes. For, during the time of the pretended [*alleged*] tumults objected against them, there was neither a sword drawn, nor a gun shot off, nor a drop of blood spilt, nor any violent act committed. It was only a company of people met together in their Church, according to their usual manner, that sent to the King's Deputy in the Province, to intreat him to forbear the execution of the King's Private Letter, which deprived them of that right which most justly belonged to them (namely, their Classes or Colleges, built by them at their own charges), and gave them to the Jesuits. They desired only so much time as to acquaint His Majesty with their

pleas and grievances. This is the crime for which they have been treated as severely as if they had made an attempt against the State: and, since that time, they have been at the mercy of the cruel Priests, that deal with the miserable inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner.

Millau has been threatened after the same manner; only because the Protestant inhabitants did bury a dead corpse after their usual manner: contrary to the King's Proclamation, that forbids them many expressions of kindness, or charity, or sorrow, on such occasions.

In Rochelle, the Papists have banished most of the richest and wealthiest inhabitants; and laid greater taxes on the rest.

But these Cities have been much more favourably dealt with than Privas. This town did very much flourish under the protection of the late deceased King [LOUIS XIII.]; and the inhabitants were confirmed there in their Privileges by several Orders from the King: so that they have enjoyed a long space of peace for about thirty-two or thirty-three years. But now, of late, they have been all banished the town and its territories; after a most savage and barbarous manner. These inhabitants, that were near 500 or 600 Souls, men and women, besides children, are now driven from their habitations; and forced to wander up and down, and to shelter themselves in woods and forests, as the miserable beasts: they not being suffered to rest in any habitable place.

I shall, in the next place, give a brief Account of the cruel usage of such as have been bred up in the Romish Religion; when, from a sense of their former delusions, they embrace the Protestant faith: contrary to the Liberty of Conscience granted by all former Edicts.

If they be Females; their parents take them away by violence, and hurry them away into Convents: where they are most barbarously persecuted, kept only with bread and water; sometimes famished and starved to death; sometimes whipped to death.

Sometimes the subtlest Monks and Friars come to visit them, to discourse and ensnare them with promises of disposing of them well in marriage; and, according to their inclinations, suiting most diabolically their temptations: and, if these will not prevail, they force their parents to

disinherit them. And in case they persist, then either the Ministers, or some relations or friends, are accused of having seduced them from their Church.

If they be Males ; they are commonly disinherited.

A thousand examples might be brought of these cruelties practised by the Papists against the French Protestants.

THUS I HAVE, with all the brevity that may be, laid open the First Causes of all the Evils that have befallen the Reformed Church.

First, Justice is denied them; their Judges being their Adversaries: their Courts of Edicts (where they made all their complaints; and whence only, if at any time, they had Justice done [to] them) demolished.

Although, by a peaceable possession for seventy years enjoyed, and confirmed likewise by various Edicts and Declarations of the King; yet are they, at this very day, so miserably oppressed with such severe Decrees, that the hardest heart cannot but pity and relent at the very Relation of their miseries.

One Decree forbids their Singing of Psalms in their houses.

By another Decree, they are prohibited a correspondence [*letter-writing*] one with another.

They are, by another, rendered incapable of bearing any Office.

By another, their Ministers' mouths are stopped; so that they cannot preach: but they are in continual danger of being accused, for not speaking with reverence of the Church of Rome.

They are forbidden to print books in vindication of their Religion, without the Magistrate's Order, and the King's Attorney General's; which can never be expected.

They are forbidden any private meetings of their Ministers to regulate the affairs of their Congregations; and to see to a punctual observance of the Public Discipline. For, in the interval of time between the Provincial Synods, it was their custom to ordain new Ministers. Now, they are forbidden any such practice of Ordaining: to the end that the Churches may be destitute of Ministers; and, consequently, of the Word and Sacraments.

Another Decree forbids them to do acts of charity to any of their brethren; when they cannot themselves vindicate their Cause against the adverse party.

By another, their Ministers are not suffered to preach

at any considerable distance from their residence; that they might not have the privilege of a Plurality: many Congregations being but small and unable to maintain a Minister; wherefore, till this Decree, two or three Congregations joined their stocks together for the better subsistence of a Pastor. Now it is very observable that this poverty proceeds from the detention of 135,000 French Livres [£13,500] granted as a Pension by King HENRY IV. for the entertainment of such Ministers: for were this payment continued by the King's Officers, every Congregation would have a distinct Minister.

Their National Synods are prohibited.

Their public Schools are taken away from them everywhere: so that their children cannot be taught by any of the Protestant Religion; and are often taken from them and shut up in Convents, and their parents forced to maintain them in such places.

They have not the liberty to make a Profession of any of the Mechanic Arts and Sciences; so that all means of subsistence are taken from them: and of that little they have, they are frequently pillaged and plundered.

They are forced to the repair and rebuilding of the idolatrous Popish Churches, Chapels, Priests' Houses, more than the Papists themselves.

Their lives and estates are in continual danger: for if they be charged with any supposed crime, they have no 'Courts of Edicts' to relieve them: but must submit to the Parliaments and Higher Courts.

The Liberty of Conscience, formerly granted, is miserably abridged; and the Inquisition, in effect, established and set up: they not daring to discover their minds before the Papists, for fear of being accused of Blasphemy.

If any be sick, they cannot lie quietly in their own beds at their own houses, nor in the Hospitals; without continual solicitations from Priests and Monks to change their Religion: they having the liberty to enter their houses at pleasure; which, to dying men, though never so well fixed in the Religion, must needs be a great trouble and torment.

The Priests, by this liberty, frequently and falsely pretend that the deceased party, by signs or otherwise, discovered a desire that their children should be bred up by them in the Popish Religion. Thus did they deal with Monsieur ROSSIL, Minister of Saintonge.

If a man, in a violent fever, lying under a delirium, lets fall the least expression whereat the Priest can catch any hold; they take it for a real conversion, and then drive out of the chamber all his former friends, even his own Wife: taking away, at the same time, his children into their custody. And if he chance to recover, they will force him to go to Mass; or else they put the 'Decree against Revolters' in execution against him.

If they find a sick man in his right senses, they will then, by subtle fallacious questions, examine him as to whether he will not embrace a true Faith, or a good and sound Doctrine? and whether or no, he desires to die in the True Church?

Thus are these poor wretches persecuted to death; and in some sense even in their graves: and many have been taken up thence, and by the Papists burnt; as hath happened lately at Rennes.

[(JEAN BAPTISTE) ADHÉMAR DE MONTEIL DE GRIGAN,] The Bishop of Uzès, lately [August 17 1675; see page 88.] in a Speech to the King, in the name of the rest of the Clergy, after his, and their, thanks for what His Majesty had done against the Protestants; he exhorted and conjured him to strike the last stroke at them! he having a most fit opportunity wholly to destroy them.

The Parliament of Bearn, and the Clergy of Pau, have very earnestly requested the same: and there is no doubt to be made by any, after the reading of all these inhumanities, but their request will be granted; though, for some short time, it be delayed.

By these former instances, we may see how well the Edict of Nantes, made by King HENRY IV., and since frequently ratified as a perpetual and irrevocable Ordinance, is observed.

This cruel usage we cannot, in reason, think proceeds from any misdemeanours committed by them against the King; since the former Declarations, Edicts, and Grants of Liberty of Conscience, to them; the King having declared the contrary in his Declaration of 21st May 1652: and in his Letter of 1655, he useth these words, speaking of the Protestants, 'I have good reason to praise their affection and fidelity for my service; they having on all occasions, given me sufficient proofs, by contributing to the welfare of my affairs.' This Letter is in print.

HOW UNJUST THEN this severity is, any rational man may judge. Most of the severe Edicts already mentioned have been made of late years: one whereof, not yet related, I shall add; and with that, conclude, *viz.*

That it is prohibited to the Protestants to depart the Kingdom;
according to the counsel of the Marquess of Chastelet [*i.e.*, PAUL HAY, Sieur de Chastelet, the Younger.]

A sad example of this severe Decree, I shall shew you in the barbarous and unjust procedure of the Parliament at Rouen against the Lady BAUROGER and her daughters; and Monsieur LE MOINE, Pastor of the Protestant Church at Rouen: occasioned by the flight of Mademoiselle DARQUES out of France into England.

Monsieur DARQUES, a Councillor of the Parliament of Rouen, had a daughter brought up, all her life-time, under the tuition of the Lady LE GRAND, her grandmother, in the Reformed Religion. The Lady LE GRAND, being eighty-five years of age, and daily ready to expire; Mademoiselle DARQUES (fearing to be persecuted for her Religion by her father and mother, and other relations; who frequently, on that account, seemed displeased with her) took her leave of her grandmother, and privately withdrew herself out of the Kingdom.

Hereupon, Monsieur DARQUES, her father, accused the Lady BAUROGER and her daughters with a pretended [*alleged*] crime of Rape, and forcibly carrying away his said daughter; 'who,' he saith, 'is yet in nonage': although she exceeds twenty; which, by the laws of Normandy, is counted full age. The pretext of colour for this supposed crime was the intimate friendship and acquaintance of the Lady BAUROGER and her daughters with Mademoiselle DARQUES.

Many persons were employed to surprise [*entrap*] the Lady BAUROGER; and to give a greater likelihood to this unjustly imputed crime. Monsieur FUGEROLLE, a Councillor

of the said Parliament, made her three several visits; she being, on her occasions, at such times abroad [*out of doors*].

This worthy Lady, not willing to pass by such civilities, went, not long after, to repay his visits, and to know his business.

Monsieur FUGEROLLE replied, That he had been thrice to wait on her about a business, touching which, if she would give him a satisfactory answer, he should account himself infinitely obliged to her. He told her, That Monsieur DARQUES was extremely disconsolate at the departure of his daughter; and that, with tears, he had entreated him to make her the visits he had made, to prevail with her safely to convey, for his sake, a Letter to his said daughter, to remove such fears as she seemed (by this absenting herself from him and her other friends, and flying into a strange country) to lie under. He told her, That he knew that Mademoiselle DARQUES was very familiar with her daughters: and, on that account, he hoped to understand whither she had gone; and that the Letter he had written, which was full of expressions of kindness and promises of many advantages, might be delivered to her. He entreated her to write also to her, to persuade her to trust to her father's promises; and he [Monsieur DARQUES] would ever acknowledge the kindness.

The Lady BAUROGER could not imagine that a person, reputed a Man of Honour, should, by this visit and discourse, ensnare her: but, with all civility, made him this answer. That she knew not where Mademoiselle DARQUES was, for the present: but, as she was a friend of her daughters, in all likelihood, in a short time, she might know the place of her retreat; and how to write to her. That she was very willing to serve them both, if Monsieur FUGEROLLE would engage that she should not be brought into any trouble: but, as then she protested, that she knew not whither the young Gentlewoman was gone. However, at their request, she would write a Letter, and in it enclose her father's Letter, to be sent by the first opportunity she could hear of.

The next day, Monsieur FUGEROLLE came to the said Lady, with a Letter from Monsieur DARQUES unsealed. He communicated to her its contents.

The Lady took it, on condition that no inconvenience might befall her: which was promised, in this manner, by the said FUGEROLLE, That he would engage to save her

harmless; unless that Mademoiselle DARQUES were found in her house.

The Lady BAUROGER wrote afterwards a Letter, according to her promise, endeavouring to persuade the young Gentlewoman, on her father's promises, which she did esteem most real and sincere, to return. This Letter she sent open to Monsieur DARQUES; desiring to know whether it was according to his mind: who returned it to her with many thanks, highly approving of it.

These Letters she, without delay, sent to Paris, to a daughter residing in that city; desiring her, if she could by any means learn where Mademoiselle DARQUES was, to send those Letters to her. But, after some time spent in vain, not, by all her enquiry, discovering the place of her retreat; these Letters were sent back to Rouen.

Hereupon this Lady, understanding by Monsieur FUGEROLLE that the young Gentlewoman was in England, she, not dreaming of the design laid against her, designed to send the Letters into England; and to direct them to her sister [ESTHER LE LOU], who was married to the Right Honourable the Lord [DENZIL] HOLLES.

But whilst she was thus contriving to send these Letters, Monsieur DARQUES, being most impatient at his daughter's absence, sent her a most rude message: whereat, being nettled, she returned him the two Letters by Monsieur FUGEROLLE.

A few days after this, Monsieur DE CERISIE, a nephew of the Lady BAUROGER, one employed by Monsieur DARQUES in the management of some law-suits, came to visit her; and told her, That Monsieur DARQUES was fully persuaded that she knew where his daughter was; and that he was resolved to prosecute her, if she did not suddenly restore her to him again.

The Lady was much surpris'd thereat; and perceived too late the treacherous dealings she had met withal. She returned therefore this answer to Monsieur DE CERISIE, That she had nothing to say to him, as he was Monsieur DARQUES's delegate. That she had given an account of her Commission to Monsieur FUGEROLLE; at whose request, she had undertaken it, without promise of success.

And when he enquired, On what ground she thought to convey with safety a Letter to her? her reply was, That she knew her to be an intimate acquaintance of her

daughters; and therefore doubted not but to hear from her, wherever she were, according to her promise [to Monsieur FUGEROLLE].

Monsieur DARQUES, being informed by Monsieur DE CERISIE, of what had passed between the Lady BAUROGER and him in their conference, caused the said Lady and her daughters to be summoned to give personal appearance, that they might be examined by the Bailiff of Rouen; and that report thereof might be made by him to the Judges.

The Judges of the Court, only upon this Information, passed a sentence against the said Lady and daughter: because, out of kindness to Monsieur DARQUES and his daughter, she was willing to receive, and convey if possible, a Letter, which imparted nothing but a compliment, and a few sorrowful expressions for her leaving him without any farewell; and desiring to hear from her.

When the Lady BAUROGER saw these unjust proceedings against her; and that Monsieur LE MOINE, Minister of the Protestant Church at Rouen, had been clapped into prison, merely on suspicion of having a hand in the departure of the young Lady: she went privately out of the city; and fled to Orleans, with her two daughters. Where she had not been long, but one of her daughters sickened with the smallpox, and died; leaving her sister infected with the same sickness, of which, in the space of three weeks, she likewise deceased: to the unspeakable grief of her mother; who had no other children but these two daughters, and they by all esteemed as accomplished as any in the whole country.

This unsupportable loss, any one would think, should soften the hardest hearts; and put a stop to all the former unjust proceedings in law: which had no other ground but that this worthy Lady professed the Protestant Religion. But, alas, instead of pity, these inhuman brutes, for they deserve not the name of men, continued still to prosecute her: insomuch that she was forced to go to Paris, to acquaint His Majesty with her innocency, by the means of his Excellency the Lord [*or rather* Sir WILLIAM] LOCKHART, Ambassador from the King of Great Britain.

The Lord Ambassador, having received the Lady BAUROGER into his house, acquainted Monsieur [SIMON ARNAULD, Marquis DE] POMPONNE, one of the French King's

Ministers of State, with her Case; and pressed him very earnestly to move the King in it. Accordingly he did: but could obtain no other answer, but that the business was to be examined and tried in the Courts of Justice; and that it was but reasonable that a father should prosecute for the carrying away of his daughter.

Not long after, Monsieur DARQUES, upon false informations, for he could not justly accuse the Lady of anything but of the receipt of his Letter, procured a Sentence in the Bailiff's Court of Rouen, the King's Officers consenting thereunto, that the Lady should be condemned to die, unless she should bring back the said Mademoiselle DARQUES: but the rest of the Court gave this following Sentence. That the Lady BAUROGER should be banished nine years out of the jurisdiction of the Bailship of Rouen, That she should be condemned to pay all the costs, and a Thousand Pounds sterling as a penalty or fine.

When the said Lady heard of this cruel and unmerciful Sentence, and that her enemies were ready to seize all her estate; she went to Rouen, yielding herself a prisoner: knowing her own innocency; and that he that governs and overrules all things, was able to set bounds to the malice of her adversaries.

The Lady, after twelve weeks' close confinement, made an Appeal to the Parliament [of Rouen]; her adversaries not being able to prove that she had any knowledge of the flight of Mademoiselle DARQUES into England: and obtained the sentence, That the Lady BAUROGER should be released from Prison, without being absolved or condemned: and that she should pay all the costs of the Suit; which were great, the Process having depended eight months.

This example alone may serve to discover the inhuman practices towards the poor persecuted Reformed Churches. Many large folios cannot contain the innumerable Examples and Relations, not forged Stories but real Truths, of the injustice done to the Protestants.

I shall conclude this short Narrative with a true and exact Relation of the sufferings of a Gentleman of an ancient family, named Monsieur MONDEVILLE LE FANUE; who hath been in the Common Gaol of Caen in Normandy, above the space of three years; and still continues [there in 1679].

This Gentleman, in the year 1655, was married to a Gentlewoman bred up in the Popish Religion. By her, he had several children. The first was a daughter: and his Wife's kindred intended to carry her away by force, to be baptized according to the Romish superstition. To that end and purpose, his mother in law procured from the Judges of Caen an express command to the Ministers of the Protestant Church [there], not to baptize the child, on pain of 500 Livres of France [=£50] forfeiture: contrary to the King's Declaration, *anno* 1669, Article xxxix., expressed in the terms

We order and commanded that the children whose father is a Protestant, shall remain in their parents' custody; and those that shall take them away and detain them, shall be constrained to restore them.

Hereupon he was constrained, by night, to avoid the insolency and fury of the common people, to carry the child as far as Bayeux, five French leagues distant from Caen, there to be baptized after the manner of the Reformed Churches.

As he was going to baptize his third child at the Protestant Church in Caen, the Vicar of St. John's Church stopped him; and took him by the throat suddenly in so violent a manner that he almost choked him: and, to avoid the fury of the common people, who began to flock about, he returned to his house.

The last, being a daughter, was carried away by stealth by the forementioned Vicar; and was baptized in the Romish way.

The mother of these children shortly after dying; although by the custom of the country the Father hath the right of being Guardian and Tutor of his children: yet most unjustly, and contrary to the Thirty-ninth Article of the Edict, the relations of the deceased Gentlewoman, who were all Papists, chose her brother (who needed a Tutor himself) to have the care of the education of these children. And thereupon he was condemned to give up his children into the care of this young Guardian.

From this Sentence, he made his Appeal to the Parliament of Rouen: but his adversaries, by their false witnesses; and a counterfeited [*forged*] Contract, before marriage, allowing the education of his children in the Romish superstitious Church, which he evidently cleared

[*exposed*], Two Judgements passed against him, and were confirmed; enjoining him to deliver up his children, under the penalty of 800 Livres French money [= £80].

Upon this, he petitioned the King's Council; and obtained a Letter under the King's Seal to Monsieur CHAMILLA, Intendant of Caen, commanding him to put a period [*end*] to this Affair. But he, being wholly ruled by [FRANCOIS DE NESMOND,] the Bishop of BAYEUX, and others of the Clergy and rigid Papists, this poor Gentleman was made prisoner.

At the taking of him, they miserably abused him; beating him, tearing his clothes, breaking his sword, dragging him after this manner in the streets: and, in all probability, had not a Gentleman, named the Viscount of CAEN, coming by, caused him to be put into his coach, with his guard to conduct him to Prison, he had been massacred by the bloody crew.

Besides all this bad usage, some debtors to him have obtained an Injunction upon any proceeding at law against them, until he shall deliver up his children. His estate is all seized, and he is kept at the King's allowance; that hereby he may be compelled, not have wherewithal to buy bread for his children, to deliver them up. This Order was confirmed and given by Six Ecclesiastical Councillors.

All that these inhuman wretches have to allege for this barbarous usage is this, That they hold it right and equitable to deprive a man of whatever goods or comforts he enjoys, in favour of their Religion; which ought to take [the] place of all private Interests whatsoever, as they say, *Summa est enim Ratio quæ pro Religione facit*: and, by this precious maxim of theirs, this worthy Gentleman, for not prostituting his children to their diabolical superstitions, hath been, for more than three years, imprisoned; and placed among the most notorious rogues who, for their villanies, are under restraint. Neither can this poor Gentleman, on any solid grounds, ever hope for deliverance, till such time as, by death, he receives that glorious crown and reward promised by CHRIST unto all such as are faithful unto death.

*Here follows a List or Catalogue of the Protestant Churches
demolished in France ; by the Order of the King
and his Council.*

Anno 1661.

BY A DECREE of the 24th March,
Saint Bauzile, in the diocese of Montpellier.

Anno 1662.

By a Decree of the 21st July,
Lucque.

Twenty-three Churches in the County of Gex, by a Decree of
23rd August,

Gex, Chalez, Peron, Divone, Grilly, Crassy, Colonges, Farges,
Pougny, Cessy, Cequy, Souverny, Coulez, Versoy, Crosset, Chevry,
Pouilly, Meyrin, Vergnier, Pregny, Saconnay, Thoiry, Saint Gian.

Anno 1663.

Aubision, by a Decree of the 11th of January.

Thirteen Churches, by a Decree of the 4th of March, *viz.*

Lants, La Caste, Gignac, D'Ongles, D'Oppedettes, Signarques,
Roquefin, Gordes, La Bastide, Des Gros, La Breouilli, Souliers.
Montagnac, by a Decree of the 15th of June.

Eighty-nine Churches condemned by Six Decrees of the 5th of
October, in the Dioceses of Uzès, Nîmes, and Mande, *scilicet.*

In the Diocese of Nîmes.

Bellegarde, Marvejols les Gardon Hommiers, Puechredon, Lougrian,
Saint Nazaire des Gardies, Orthou, Saint Jean de Serres, Cezas,
Cambo, Massilargues les Anduze, Dourbies, Aguzan, Saint Bresson,
Saint Benezet, Saint Saviour de Pourcils, Saint Jean de Crieulon,
Gatuzières, Saint Bonet de Salendrenques, Gaujac, near Anduze,
Saint Jean de Baussells, Lauvejol, Vabres, Candiac, Massanes, Liouc,
Bragassargues, Brouzet, Rouret, Saint Julien de la Nef, Roquedun,
Courbes, Sendras, Saint Jean du Pin, Maruejols in Vaunage, Boardie.

In the Diocese of Uzès.

Benezet, Concules, Saint Jean de Cerargues, Villefort, Combas,
Touset, Mejane, Saint Hypolite de Caton, Castlenau, Desplane,
Mouteils, Martinargues, Fone on the Lussan, Saint Bauzile of Uzès,
Brueys, Roubiac, Serignac, Avejan, Caunes, Ozou, Saint Martin de

Valgalges, Gadargues, Megrane, Arlande, Montagnac, Verfevil, Move, Poguadoresse, Saint Victor de Malcap, Saint Etienne de Forvene, Foissac, Montmiraille, Fese, Maugieres, La Rovinière.

In the Diocese of Mande.

Grifac, Castelbouc, Balme near Barc, Montvaillant, Mazaribal, Timelac, Mandenaur de Rousses, Fraisinet de Fourgues, Saint Andiot, Saint André de Lancise, Saint Michel de Dezee, Saint Laurence de Trebe, Saint Julien des Points, Point de Montvert, Ribautes, Saint Casine, Geneyrac, Saint Julien du Nef, Saint Jean de Rocques, La Rouvière, La Brugière, Cincens, Bizarre Ardaillers, Cros, Talleyrac, Salargues, Breaw, Bouvillargues, Guoysargues, Marignargues, Rodillan, Saint Cezaire, Courvessac, Montredon, Leques, Salinelles le moine, Galarques, Lascours, Cruvières, Gujane, Crespien, Vio, Sauzet, Rochegude, Seynes, Daumesargues, Bovisset, Saint Martin de Campelade, Taraux, Fontarzche.

Anno 1664.

Seyne, by a Decree of the 12th of May.

Landouzy, Gercis, Sernay, Rue des Boheins, Leval ; by a Decree of September 22nd.

Saint Crois de Candele, Vehaw, Vestries, Milhaw ; by a Decree of October 3rd.

Alencon, by a Decree of 20th October.

The new Church of Montauban, by a Decree of the 29th of October.

The Church at Nesmes, by a Decree of the 28th November.

Anno 1665.

Churches demolished in Brittany, by a Decree of the 19th of January :

Syon, Croissie, La Rochebibnard, Dinan, Ploer, Saint Malo.

In Picardy, by a Decree of the 27th of January :

Salonel, Canesures, Lindeboeuf.

By a Decree of the 23rd of April,
Le Mesnil.

Forty-two demolished in Poitou, by a Decree of the 6th of August :
Belabre, Chavigny, Exoudua, Saint Gelaie, Courteilles, Benay, Couhe, Marcillac, Puigni, Peselechat, Parthenay, Le Vigeon, Saint Benoir, Puybeliart, Lucon, La Chaune, Belleville, Poire, Saint Hermine, Le Boupire, Chantaunay, Saint Gilles Survye, Tolmont, Marevillo, La Jaudovinicre, Mavilleron, Saint Fulgent, Saint Jovin

1679. A Short List of Churches demolished.

de Milli, Benet, La Brassardière, La Chataigneraye, Faussay, La
Buardière, Cezay, Aubanie, Guire, La Bouchetière, Lande Blanche,
La Millière, Boisfragon, La Chapelle Temet, La Marinière.

What Churches have been destroyed since 1666, though there hath
been many; yet few of their names are come to my hands: unless

In 1672.

Saint André de Beausse, by a Decree of December 20th.

In 1673.

By a Decree of February 3rd :

Unet, Galapian, Favillet, Aimmet, Ligneux, Saint Barthelmé de la
Perche.

There are six times more Churches destroyed [than the above].
He does not speak of hundreds, and above, destroyed in Bearn; and
infinite others.

Many, besides these, are demolished: and near Two Hundred in
the Black Roll are registered; which are, by most, feared in a short
time will be condemned.

F I N I S .



The Present State
of the
Protestants in France.

In Three Letters,
written by a Gentleman in London to his
Friend in the country.

The First shews the Privileges granted to them
by the Edict of Nantes.

The Second sets forth the Injustice that is done them ;
and the Cruelties that are used to force them
to renounce their Religion.

The Third indicates their Innocency and their Loyalty.

London.
Printed for John Holford, Bookseller in the Pall Mall ;
over against Saint Alban's street.

1681.



To the Reader.

I AM UNDER a necessity of begging excuse for what follows; because it will come short of the Title Page, which promises Three Letters. The truth is, the Third was in a manner ready, when so many fresh instances of the barbarity used to the poor Protestants in France came to my hands, that I found myself obliged either to defer any Account for some time, or else to publish these Two Letters by themselves.

But I must confess I was not long in taking my choice. For I saw it so requisite to say something presently, that I resolved out of hand to publish these my Two first Letters. The Enemy has been so industrious as to waylay these poor people; and whilst they will not suffer them to live in France, they endeavour to prevent their subsisting anywhere else.

Amongst some, they are represented as Enemies to the Religion established: however, they profess the same Faith, and desire to be esteemed as Brethren.

Amongst others, they are made to appear a mixed multitude; part Protestant, part Papist; whereas it is as impossible for any number of Papists, or indeed almost any, to thrust themselves in amongst them undiscovered, as it would be for a Black [man] amongst Whites. Their Ministers are such as have had their education amongst them, well known and approved before admitted to that Office; strictly observed, and under a careful Discipline, after admission; their people well acquainted and observed among themselves, as is usual for such as are under a Persecution, or the jealous Eye of their Superiors. Besides greater care cannot be taken than is by the French Churches, to whom the recommendation of all that come over [to England] is remitted, to see that their Attestations and Testimonials are true and substantial: and I hope the printed Advertisement has already given satisfaction in this point.

But that nothing may be wanting to augment the misery of these poor Fugitives, and to render them at the same time worse than unprofitable to their Brethren; it is suggested to the common people [of England], That they come to take the bread out of their mouths: by overstocking those populous Manufactures, which seem already rather to be overcharged; and by surfeiting the land with people. Which objection, if we consider strictly according to Interest, comes not up to any weight or consideration. For many of the Manufactures they bring over, are such as we had not before; and, by consequence, of the greatest and most unexceptional benefit to us. Others, though not wholly new; yet bring so great improvement to those we had already of the same kind, that they do, in a manner, create a new Manufacture. There are, likewise, [those] that give help to a full Trade, that wanted hands before to supply it. And now if any are so unfortunate as to bring over such as we are more than filled with already; I would beg that, as men, we would consider the common Laws of Humanity, and let necessity take place of inconvenience; and, as Christians, to have especial regard to those that are of the Household of Faith.

Now that we should be over-peopled, I think there is no danger; when no considering man but will allow that our nation wants more than a million of people, and that no country is rich but in proportion to its numbers: for multitudes create scarcity; and that, industry.

But be the Politic Consideration what it will; never were there greater objects of Christian Charity and Compassion than these poor people.

First. If we look upon the privileges of mankind; we shall find them here infringed to the scandal of our Being. Men not only forced to renounce their thoughts, and say the contrary to what, at the same time, they declare themselves to believe: but having, by violence, Holy Water cast on them, and dragged at a horse's tail to Mass, they shall be pronounced Roman Catholics; and made to suffer as 'Relapsed,' if they dare renounce what they never consented to.

They are neither permitted to live at home; nor to go abroad.

The holy and religious duty, as the Papists account it, of Confession is prostituted to oppression; and polluted

1681. Huguenots punished, for the sake of the English.

with the intermixture of secular concerns. For the Confessors now, in France, conjure their penitents, upon pain of damnation, not to conceal any debt they owe to a Protestant: and, when revealed, immediately they attach [*impound*] it in the debtor's hands, under the same penalty.

Secondly. If we consider them, as they are Protestants of France, never had people greater Privileges, better settled, nor upon juster grounds: of which the First Letter will abundantly convince any reasonable person: and yet it will appear, by the Second Letter, that no people were ever reduced to a more miserable estate, and lived!

But that which ought to move an Englishman, in all diversities of his passion, at once, is; not only that they are of our Communion, or that our Kings are Guarantees for the Edict of Nantes: but that we are, in a manner, punished in them. For a great inducement to this inhuman usage, not only seems to be, but is really owned by them to be, from the rage they have conceived against us, for the preventing of their bloody and hellish Designs [in the Popish Plot], by the exemplary punishment of some Popish traitors. Nay, if they durst for shame speak out, I am sure they would tell us, That since they could not execute their malice upon English Protestants, they are resolved to wreak their revenge upon the French; and scourge them. for our sakes.



The Present State of the Protestants in France.

LETTER I.

YOU ARE NOT at all mistaken! I can now easily satisfy you in what you desire to know concerning the Protestants of France. One that is a Friend to us both, who is lately come [from] thence, hath fully acquainted me with the condition they are in.

I saw him, the day after his arrival; and found him ordering his books and loose Papers, which were just opened.

After our first salute, I ask him, What they were?

‘They are,’ said he, ‘French books; and those printed sheets are the new Edicts, Declarations, and Acts, which the King of France hath lately published against the Protestants of his Kingdom.’

‘I am very happy,’ said I, ‘in lighting on you, at the opening of your Papers. I was extremely impatient of knowing, with some certainty, what it was that drove so many of them from their native country; and I perceive, by the care you have taken to collect all the Pieces which concern them, that I could not have met any one who might better satisfy my curiosity. They come hither in troops, almost every day; and the greatest part of them, with no other goods but their children.

‘The King [CHARLES II.], according to his accustomed goodness, hath had pity upon them, so far as to provide means whereby they may be able to gain their livelihood; and, amongst other things, he hath ordered a General Collection for them throughout the Kingdom. We were all resolved to answer the charitable intentions of our gracious Prince; and were beginning to contribute freely: but, to

tell you the truth, we were extremely cooled by certain rumours. It is confessed that their King is very earnest to make them embrace his Religion; but they assure us, That Declaration of the he uses none but *very reasonable means*; 17th of June 1681. and that they who come hither, with such outcries, are a sort of people *not gifted with much patience*, who easily forsake their native country; being dissatisfied that their merit (as they conceive) is not sufficiently rewarded. Besides, They are represented to us [as] very much suspected in the point of their obedience and loyalty. If we may believe many here, They have been very factious and rebellious; such as, in all times, have struck at the Higher Powers, both in Church and State; which, you must needs see, would not be much for our purpose in these present conjunctures.'

'In truth! this is intolerable!' cried our Friend. 'I cannot endure that the innocence of these poor people should be run down at this rate! I perceive [that] Father [FRANCOIS D'AIX] LA CHAISE is not content to persecute them in their own country with the utmost cruelty; but tries all ways to shut up the bowels of their Brethren in foreign parts. He endeavours to ruin, and to famish, them everywhere; in England as well as France. A hatred so cruel, and, if I may so say, murderous, agrees not so well with the Gospel of the meek JESUS; whose Companion [*i.e.* S. J.] Father LA CHAISE styles himself. For he came not to destroy men; but to save them.'

'Let this Jesuit alone,' said I, 'and his Emissaries! I do not doubt but he hath too much to do in all the Affairs of Protestants. But tell me, ingenuously [*candidly*], do they give just cause to them of France, to quit their country as they do; and are they persons whom the State and the Church may trust?'

'You yourself shall be Judge!,' said he, 'and that you may be fully informed of the Cause; I will give you a particular Account of the state of these poor people. But before I speak of the Evils they have suffered; it is fit you should know what it is that they have a right to hope for, from their King, and from their countrymen. You will then be more affected with the usage they find.'

'You cannot but have heard of the Edict of Nantes. Here it is,' said he, taking up one of the books that lay upon

the table. 'It is a law which HENRY IV. confirmed to establish their condition, and to secure their Lives and Privileges; and that they might have liberty freely to profess their Religion. It is called the Edict of Nantes; because it was concluded of at Nantes, whilst the King was there. It contains 149 Articles: 98 General, and 56 Particular. You may read it at your leisure, if you please. I will only observe some of them to you, at present.

'Look, I pray,' said he, 'on the Sixth General, and the First Particular Article. Liberty of Conscience, without let or molestation, is there most expressly promised, not only to them who made Profession of the Protestant Religion at the Establishment of the Edict; but (which is principally to be observed) to all those who should embrace and profess it afterwards. For the Article Art. 1. Partic. saith,

That Liberty of Conscience is granted to all those who are, or who shall be, of the said Religion; whether natives or others.

'The Seventh General Article grants to all Protestants the right of having Divine Service, Preaching, and full Exercise of their Religion, in all their Houses [*Families*] who have Sovereign Justice: that is to say, who have the privilege of appointing a Judge that hath the power of judging in Capital Causes, upon occasion. There are a great many noble Houses in France which have this Privilege. That Seventh Article allows all Protestants who have such Houses, to have Divine Service and Preaching there: not only for themselves, their own family and tenants; but also for all persons who have a mind to go thither.

'The following Article allows even the same Exercise of the Protestant Religion in noble Houses which have not the right of Sovereign Justice; but which only hold in Fee Simple. It is true, it doth not allow them to admit into their Assemblies above thirty persons; besides their own family.

'The Ninth Article is of far greater importance. It allows the Protestants to have, and to continue, the Exercise of their Religion in all those places where it had been publicly used in the years 1596 and 1597.

'The Tenth Article goes farther yet, and orders that that Exercise be *established* in all places where it ought to

have been, by the Edict of 1577, if it had *not* been; and to be *re-established* in all those places, if it had been taken away. And that Edict of 1577, granted by HENRY III., declares, That the Exercise of the Protestant Religion should be continued in all places where it had been in the month of September [of] that same year: and, moreover, that there should be a place in each Bailiwick [*Bailliage*], or other Corporation of the like nature, where the Exercise of that Religion should be established; though it had never been there before. These are those places which, since, have been called, with reference to the Exercise of Religion, "The First Places of the Bailiwick." It follows then from this Tenth Article of the Edict of Nantes, That, besides the Cities and Towns in which the Exercise of that Religion ought to be continued, because they had it in the years 1596 and 1597; it ought to be, over and above, in all those places where it had been in the month of September in the year 1577; and in a convenient place of each Bailiwick, etc., although it had not been there in that month.

'The Eleventh Article grants also this Exercise in each Bailiwick in a second place, where it had not been, either in the month of September 1577, or in the years 1596 or 1597. This is that which is called, "The Second Place of the Bailiwick"; in distinction to that other place of the same nature, which is granted by virtue of the Edict of 1597.

'When HENRY IV. sent Commissaries into the several Provinces to see his Edict put into execution; there was scarce found any considerable City or town where the Commissaries did not acknowledge, That the Exercise of the Protestant Religion had no need to be confirmed, or re-established; because it had been used there in some one of the three years above mentioned: insomuch that there were whole Provinces which had no need of those two "Places" granted out of pure favour, I mean, The Two Places of each Bailiwick; all the Cities and all the towns of those Provinces claiming that Exercise by a better Title.

'This is it which made the Bishop of RHODEZ, Monsieur [(HARDOUIN DE) BEAUMONT DE] PÉRÉFIXE, afterwards Archbishop of PARIS, in his 'History of the Life of HENRY IV.' to say, That that Prince, by his Edict of Nantes, granted to the Protestants, Liberty of Preaching almost everywhere.

'But he granted them farther, the means and full power

1691. The livelihood of the Huguenots is secured.

of breeding up and teaching their children. Read, as to that, the Thirty-seventh Particular Article. It declares,

That they shall have Public Schools and Colleges in those Cities and places, where they ought to have the public Exercise of their Religion.

‘The Edict having secured, as you see, the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, secures also the condition of them who should profess it, to the end that they might, without any molestation, each one according to his Quality, follow those Trades, Employments, and Offices, which are the ordinary means of men’s livelihood.

‘Indeed, the thing of itself speaks this. For it is plain that they do not grant in good earnest the free Exercise of a Religion, who debar the persons that profess it [from] the use of means necessary for their subsistence. Nevertheless, for their greater security, HENRY IV. hath declared to all Europe, by this Edict, that he would not that there should be any difference, as to that point, between his Protestant and his Papist subjects.

‘The Thirty-seventh General Article, as to that, is express. This is it.

We declare all them who do, or shall, make Profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, capable of holding and exercising all Conditions, Offices, Honours, and public Charges, whatsoever; Royalties, Seigniories, or any Charge in the Cities of our Kingdom; Countries, Territories, or Seigniories, under our authority.

‘The Fifty-fourth Article declares, That they shall be admitted Officers in the Courts of Parliament, Great Council, Chamber of Accounts, Court of Aids, and the Offices of the General Treasurers of France; and amongst the other Officers of the Revenues of the Crown.

‘The Seventy-fourth Article puts them in the same state with their fellow-subjects as to public exactions; willing that they should be charged no higher than others.

“Those of the said Religion pretendedly Reformed,” saith the Article, “may not hereafter be overcharged or oppressed with any Imposition ordinary or extraordinary, more than the Catholics.”

‘And to the end that Justice might be done and administered impartially as the Edict explains itself, the Thirtieth, Thirty-first to the Fifty-seventh, Articles set up “Chambers

of the Edict" in the Parliaments of Paris and Rouen, where the Protestant Councillors ought to assist as Judges; and "Chambers Mi-parties" in the Parliaments of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphiny, consisting each of Two Presidents, the one Protestant and the other Papist, and of twelve Councillors, an equal number of each Religion, to judge without Appeal, exclusive to all other Courts, all differences of any importance which the Protestants might have with their fellow-subjects, as well in Criminal as in Civil matters.

'In short, this great Edict forgets nothing which might make the Protestants of France to live in peace and honour. It hath not failed even to explain itself, as to the vexations which might be created them, by taking away, or seducing, their children. For, read the Eighteenth General Article. It forbids all Papists, of what quality or condition soever they may be, to take them away by force, or by persuasion, against the will of their parents: as if it had forseen that this would be one of the ways, which their Persecutors would use to vex and ruin them.

'But the Thirty-eighth Article goes farther yet. That wills that, even after their death, Fathers shall be masters of the education of their children, and consequently of their Religion, so long as their children shall continue under Guardians; which is, by the laws of France, till the twenty-fifth year.

It shall be lawful for Fathers who profess the said Religion, to provide for them such persons for their education, as they think fit: and to substitute one or more, by Will, Codicil, or other Declaration, made before Public Notaries; or written and signed with their own hand.

'You perceive then plainly,' continued our Friend, 'that, by this Edict, King HENRY IV. made the condition of the Protestants equal almost in all things to that of his other subjects. They had reason then to hope that they should be allowed to exercise their Religion, and to breed up and instruct their children in it, without any disturbance: and that they should have as free admission to all Arts, Trades, Offices, and Employments, as any of their fellow-subjects.'

'This is very clear,' said I, 'and I am much obliged to you for explaining to me what this famous Edict of Nantes

is; which I had heard so much discourse of. But they who have no affection for the Protestants tell us, That it is a law which was extorted by violence; and, consequently, is not to be kept.'

'I will not stand now,' said our Friend, 'whether that Consequence be good. You cannot but perceive that it is dangerous. But I dare assure you that the Principle from whence it is drawn, namely, That the Edict was extorted by violence, is very false. I would not have you take my word for it: but I will produce an unexceptionable witness.

'It is [HARDOUIN DE) BEAUMONT DE PÉREFIXE,] the Archbishop of PARIS, he who wrote the "Life of HENRY IV." That one witness is worth a thousand: for he was a declared enemy of the Protestants. According to him, The General Peace was made, the League extinguished, and all persons in France had laid down their Arms; when this Edict was granted in favour of them.

'It is ridiculous now, to say, That it was extorted by violence; there being then no Party in the Kingdom in a condition to make the least attempt with impunity. Moreover, that Prelate could not forbear owning expressly what it was [that] moved the King to grant them that Edict. It was the sense of the Great Obligations he had to them. See the book itself! Read the passage! "The Great Obligations which he had to them would not permit him to drive them to despair; and therefore, to preserve them a just balance, he granted them an Edict larger than any before. They called it, The Edict of Nantes, etc."

'Indeed, the Obligations which he had to them were not small. They had testified an inviolable loyalty to him in all his troubles. They had spent freely their lives and fortunes to defend his rights, and his life, against the Princes of Lorraine; who made so many attempts to keep him from the Throne of his ancestors, and to usurp his place. Had it not been for their valour and their loyalty; the Crown had gone into the hands of Strangers: and, since we must speak out, had it not been for them, the Blood of the BOURBONS would not, this day, have been possessed of the Throne.

'The Edict of Nantes, then, was the effect and the recompense of the Great Obligations which King HENRY IV. had to his loyal Protestants: and not, as is slanderously reported, the fruit of any violence, gained by force, and

granted against the hair [*unwillingly*].

‘But, farther, the Law of Nature and Common Policy might challenge such an Edict for them, as well as Gratitude.

‘It is true, that Sovereign Magistrates are appointed by GOD to preserve the public peace; and, by consequence, to cut off, or prevent, as much as in them lies, whatever may disturb it. It is true also, that new Establishments in matters of Religion may cause great troubles in a State: and that there are Religions which have Maxims so pernicious, that when Magistrates are of a different opinion, or but so much as tolerate such a one, their lives and their Kingdoms are never in safety.

‘But HENRY IV. found the Protestant Religion wholly established in the Kingdom; when he came to the Crown.

‘Besides he, who had so long professed it, knew perfectly well, That it had none of those dreadful Maxims which make Princes and States jealous; That, on the contrary, in it Loyalty, and Obedience of Subjects to Sovereigns, of what Religion and what humour soever, was to them an Article of Faith, and an Obligation of Conscience. He knew that Protestants, by their Religion, were peaceable men, who sought but to serve GOD according to his Word; and were always ready to spend the last drop of their blood for the service and the honour of their King.

‘But he knew also that the zeal of the Romish Clergy always animated the Popish common people against them; and that they would be sure to fall upon them, unless he took them into his protection. The Law of Nature then, did not permit him to abandon to the rage of the multitude so many innocent persons; and Common Policy warned him to preserve so many faithful subjects for the State, so capable of supporting it on occasion, as he had so freshly experienced. It being certain that, had it not been for them, the Pope and the League had ruined the whole Kingdom. But it was not possible, either to defend them from the fury of the people, or to preserve them for the service of the State, if he had granted in favour of them anything less than the Edict of Nantes: so that this Edict, in truth, was to be ascribed to Common Equity and Prudence no less than to Gratitude.’

‘But,’ said I to my Friend, ‘do you believe that the

1681. The Edict, an Irrevocable and Perpetual Law.

grandson of HENRY IV. is bound to make good what his grandfather did ?’

‘I do not doubt it at all,’ answered he, ‘otherwise there would be nothing secure or certain in Civil Society : and woe be to all Governments, if there be no Foundation of Public Trust !

‘First. For, if ever a law deserved to be regarded by the successors of a Prince, it is this. It was established by a Hero, who had recovered the Crown for his posterity by his sword : and this Establishment was not made but after mature and long deliberations, in the calm of a profound Peace, obtained and cemented by many and signal victories.

‘That Hero hath declared expressly in the Preface of the Edict, That he established it in the nature of an Irrevocable and Perpetual Law ; willing that it should be firm and inviolable : as he also saith himself in the Ninetieth Article. Accordingly, he made all the Formalities to be observed in its establishment, which are necessary for the passing of a Fundamental Law in a State. For he made the observation of it, under the quality of an Irrevocable Law, to be sworn to, by all the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of his Provinces ; by the Bailiffs, Mayors, and other ordinary Judges, and principal inhabitants of the Cities, of each Religion ; by the Majors, Sheriffs, Consuls, and Jurats ; by the Parliaments, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aid : with order to have it published and registered in all the said Courts. This is expressly set down in the Ninety-second and Ninety-third Articles. Was there ever anything more authentic ?

‘Secondly. The same reasons which caused the Establishment, remain still ; and plead for its continuance :

1. The Family of BOURBON preserved in the Throne.
2. The Law of Nature and Common Policy.
3. The two Successors of HENRY IV. looked not upon themselves as unconcerned in this Edict. Their Word, and their Royal Authority, are engaged for its observation ; no less than the Word, and Royal Authority, of its illustrious Author.

‘LOUIS XIII. confirmed it, as soon as he came to the Crown, by his Declaration of the 22nd of May 1610 ; ordering, “That the Edict of Nantes should be observed in every Point and Article.” These are the very words. Read them !’ said he ; shewing me a book in folio, “The

Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., confirm the Edict.

Great Conference of the Royal Ordinances and Edicts.”’

I read there, in the First Book, Title 6, of the Second pp. 156, 157, of the Part of the Volume, not only the Article Lyons Edition. he mentioned: but also the citation of Nine several Declarations published, at several times, by the same King, on the same subject.

‘LOUIS XIV., who now reigns,’ says our Friend, ‘hath likewise assured all Europe, by his authentic Edicts and Declarations, that he would maintain the Edict of Nantes, according to the desire of his grandfather; who had made it an Irrevocable Law.

‘He himself acknowledges and confirms it himself anew, by his Edict of June, 1680; wherein he forbids Papists to change their Religion. There it is. Pray, take the pains to read it over.’

LOUIS, by the grace of GOD, King of France and Navarre, to all persons to whom these Presents come, Greeting. The late HENRY IV., our grandfather, of glorious memory, granted, by his Edict given at Nantes, in the month of April 1598, to all his subjects of the Religion pretended Reformed who then lived in his Kingdom, or who afterwards should come and settle in it, Liberty of Professing their Religion; and, at the same time, provided whatsoever he judged necessary for affording those of the said Religion pretended Reformed means of living in our Kingdom in the exercise of their Religion, without being molested in it by our Catholic subjects: which the late King, our most honoured Lord and Father, and we, since, have authorized and confirmed, on other occasions, by divers Declarations and Acts.

‘But, this Prince is not content to tell what he hath formerly done in confirmation of the Edict of Nantes. Read some lines a little lower; and you will see that he repeats again his former engagements.’

We declare that, confirming as much as is, or may be, needful the Edict of Nantes, and other Declarations and Acts given in pursuit of it, etc.

‘That is to say, That by this new Edict he signs once more the Edict of Nantes; and, for a more authentic confirmation of that important law, he ratifies together with it, and seals with his royal seal, all the Declarations which had already confirmed it.

‘If all this is not sufficient to render *his* Word sacred

and inviolable, there is nothing in the World can do it ! All things are lawful ! and it is to no purpose to talk of any Obligation, or of any Bond, in Human Society ! They cannot make void, or break the Clauses of an Edict, so well deserved by the Protestants, so just and so wise in itself, so solemnly established, so religiously sworn to and so often, and so authentically confirmed by three Kings ; without shaking all the foundations of public security ; without violating, in that act, the Law of Nations ; and filling the World with fatal principles, which, by ruining all mutual faith among men, render divisions in States incurable, and consequently immortal.'

' Dear Sir,' said I, ' I am much pleased with what you have informed me. O, how I shall dash them out of countenance who, hereafter, shall compare the condition of our Papists in England with that of the Protestants in France ! There is no sort of good usage but what is due to those in their own country ; of which they have deserved so well, by preserving that Family which now reigns there. What have they not a right to hope for, under the protection of an Edict so authentic ! But our Papists in England, have they ever deserved a like protection ? Hath there ever been passed any Act of Parliament in favour of them, like to this Edict ? On the contrary, have not there been passed a thousand against them ! and not one, but upon the provocation of some sedition, or open rebellion ! You need but review the Fundamental Laws of the land now in force against the Pope ; against the Jesuits, Seminary Priests ; and, in general, against all the Papists. There is decreed justly against them, all the contrary that, by the Edict of Nantes, is promised to the Protestants.'

See Statutes at large.
 1 Eliz. 1. 5 Eliz. 1.
 13 Eliz. 1. 23 Eliz. 1.
 27 Eliz. 2. 35 Eliz. 2.
 1 Jacob. 4.
 3 Jacob. 4, 5, etc.

' You are much in the right,' said our Friend, ' when you use the word *justly* on this occasion. Princes and Protestant Magistrates cannot look upon, nor by consequence treat, Papists otherwise than as [the] declared and mortal enemies of their Persons, and of their States. They may disguise themselves as they please : but, in truth, every Papist is a man who takes the Pope to be the Sovereign Head of the Universal Church ; and believes, on that very account, [that] there is no Prince, nor King, nor Emperor, who is not

subject to his Censures, even to Excommunication. Now, who knows not, that it is a general Maxim of that Religion that they ought to treat all Excommunicated Persons as common pests? Upon this, all subjects are dispensed with from their Oaths of Allegiance to their Princes; Kingdoms are laid under Interdicts; and they are in no way obliged to keep faith with Heretics.

'This is the original and damnable Cause of the many Conspiracies that have been made against the sacred lives of our Kings: and, if you will search our Histories, you will find none of the forementioned Acts ever passed, but upon some previous provocation given by the Papists' insolence or rebellions; of the Massacres in France and Ireland, wherein those of Rome have so triumphed; and of the general consternation [of the Popish Plot] into which so lately our nation was cast.

'They would fain persuade us, That these pernicious Maxims are peculiar to the Jesuits and some Monks: but a little Treatise [by Bishop WILLIAM LLOYD], Printed by HENRY called, "The Difference between the Church and Court of Rome," proves undeniably that it is the judgement of all true Papists. I could produce other invincible authority; if this point were here to be proved.

'There cannot then be too great caution against such persons. Whatever they pretend; they do not design simply the Exercise of that Belief which their Conscience dictates to them. They grasp at the Power, and aspire at Dominion. They design, whatever it cost them, to have their Church reign once more here in England. There is nothing they dare not attempt, nothing they are not ready to *act*, that they may compass it. They are implacable enemies, who wait but for an opportunity to cut our throats; and we must needs be very senseless and stupid if, after so many proofs as they have given us of their desperate malice, we should repeal those Laws which tie up their hands.'

'You are much in the right,' I replied, 'but let us leave them for the present, and return to our Protestants of France. You have shewed me their Rights: now let me understand their Grievances!'

'I am willing to do it,' said he, 'but it is a little late; and, if you please, being somewhat weary with my journey, we will defer it till to-morrow. I will expect you here in

1681. The present condition of the Huguenots.

my chamber at the same hour you came to-day.'

I told him, 'With all my heart!'

And as our Conversation ended there, I think it not amiss to end my Letter too: intending in another to let you know the present condition of those poor people.

I am your, etc.

LETTER II.

I DID NOT fail to wait on my Friend at the appointed hour.

‘Sit down,’ said he, as soon as he saw me in the chamber, ‘and let us lose no time in needless ceremony! I was just putting my Papers in order; by which I would desire you to judge of the Protestants’ Complaints, and the Reasons that have made them leave their country. But since you are here; take them as they come to hand!

‘The First is a Verbal Process of the extraordinary Assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops held in the Province of [(FRANCOIS DE) HARLAY DE CHANVALLON,] the Archbishop of PARIS, in the months of March and May, this 1681. It is a Piece which justifies a Truth, that the World will hardly believe: namely, That whereas the Protestants, by virtue of the Edict, had the Exercise of their Religion almost everywhere; they have it now scarce anywhere. See the proof in the tenth page of that Verbal Process, where one of the Agents General of the Clergy of France allegeth as so many public testimonies of the piety of their King, “An almost infinite number of Churches demolished; and the Exercise of the Religion pretended Reformed suppressed.”

‘I leave you to imagine what a consternation such a terrible blow must have put those poor people into: not to mention their grief to see those Holy Places beaten down, “whose very stones they took pleasure in.” Instead of having the heavenly Manna showered down at the doors of their Tabernacles; at this present, they are forced to go thirty or forty miles, through the worst of ways, in the winter, to hear the Word of GOD, and to have their children baptized.

‘But let us go on to a second Piece. Here is a Declaration that hath lain heavy upon them, in reference to an infinite number of Living Temples; who are far otherwise

to be lamented for, by reason of the rigour they are used with, than the Temples of Stone that are demolished.

'It is of the 13th of March 1679. Pray, read it! It forbids all Popish Clergymen, whatever desire they have, to turn Protestants: and even all those Protestants who have forsaken their Religion out of lightness or infirmity, to return to it again, upon better knowledge of the Truth; pressed to it by their Consciences, and desiring to give glory to GOD.

This dreadful Edict will not suffer that any of them under satisfy their Consciences in so important an affair, shall any less penalty than that of

the "Amende Honorable,"
Perpetual Banishment, and
Confiscation of their goods.'

'I beseech you,' said I, 'what doth the Declaration intend, by making "Amende Honorable"?'

'You have reason to ask,' replied he. 'It is that, you ought not to be ignorant of. Know then, that for them to make "Amende Honorable" is to go into some public place, in their shirt, a torch in their hand, a rope about their neck, followed by the Hangman; in this equipage (which is that of the most infamous criminals), to ask pardon of GOD, the King, and Justice, for what they have done: that is to say, on this occasion, for having dared to repent of sinning against GOD; for having forsaken a Religion which they believed [to be] heretical and idolatrous, and consequently the infallible way to eternal damnation; and for being willing thenceforward to profess the Protestant Religion, in which only they are persuaded they can be saved.

'This is, dear Friend, what they inflict upon all Popish Ecclesiastics, to whom GOD vouchsafes grace to discern the true Religion; and upon all Protestants who, having been such wretches as to forsake it, are afterwards so happy as to be convinced of their sin, and to repent. They call the first, "Apostates"; and the other, "Relapsed": but names do not change the nature of things.

'The misery is, that all this is executed with the utmost rigor. The Prisons of Poitiers, and those of other places, are, at this present, filled with this sort of pretended Relapsed Persons: and it is not permitted to anyone to relieve them. What *possibility* is there then, for such as are in like circumstances, and whose number every day increases, to continue in France?

‘But the mischief is much increased since this Declaration. What was particular [*peculiar*] to Ecclesiastics and Relapsed Protestants, is now become universal to all Roman Catholics. I shewed you the Piece yesterday. It is that very Edict of June 1680, wherein they pretend to confirm the Edict of Nantes. A blessed confirmation! The Edict of Nantes, as I have shewed you, allows the Liberty of Conscience to all them who were then Protestants; and to all Art. 1 Par. such as would be afterwards, inhabitants or others. But what doth this new Edict declare?

Our Will and Pleasure is, that our Subjects of what Quality, condition, age, or sex, soever, now making profession of the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, may never forsake it, to go over to the pretended Reformed Religion, for what cause, reason, pretence, or consideration, soever. We Will that they who shall act contrary to this Our Pleasure, shall be condemned to make ‘Amende Honorable,’ to perpetual banishment out of our Kingdom, and all their goods to be confiscated.

We forbid all Ministers of the said pretended Reformed Religion hereafter to receive any Catholic to make Profession of the pretended Reformed Religion; and we forbid them and the Elders of their Consistories to suffer in their Churches or Assemblies any such: under penalty to the Ministers of being deprived for ever of exercising any function of their Ministry in our Kingdom; and of suppression for ever of the Exercise of the said Religion in that place where any one Catholic shall be received to make Profession of the said pretended Reformed Religion.

‘Lord! what a horrible proceeding is this!’ cried I, as soon as my Friend had read it. ‘Do they call this *confirming* of Edicts in France? What a violence is this to the Consciences of Ministers and Elders, to command them to shut the doors of the Church of JESUS CHRIST to all their neighbours, who come thither for admission! and to have this done by them, who are called by GOD to open the door to all the World! Is not this to force them to violate the most essential and sacred duty of Christian Charity? In truth, if there were nothing else but this; I do not see how they can stay there much longer, with a safe Conscience.’

‘They must swallow worse Potions than these,’ said my Friend. ‘You shall see presently quite other Preparations!’

‘What!’ replied I, ‘have they the heart to use thus cruelly those poor Churches, within whose walls any Roman Catholic changes his Religion?’

‘Do not doubt it!’ said he. ‘They make no Conscience at all to *exceed* their Commission; whensoever they are enjoined to execute any penalty. I will give you an example which will amaze you.

‘There is a great town in Poitou, called La Motthe; where the Protestants have a Church consisting of between 3,000 and 4,000 Communicants. A young Maid, of about seventeen years old, who from a Protestant had turned Paptist, had stole herself into the Congregation upon a Communion Day. Now you must observe, that the Protestant Churches are full on those Days: for they would believe themselves very much to blame, if they lost any opportunity of partaking at the Lord’s Supper. Nevertheless, without considering how easy it was for that young Maid not to be discovered by the Consistory in such a crowd, and though those poor people were not at all within the *Letter* of that rigorous Edict; they have made them undergo all the penalty! The Exercise of their Religion is wholly suppressed there; and their Minister is not allowed to preach in France.’

‘That is very cruel,’ said I to our Friend, ‘and though it were true that those Ministers and those Elders were guilty upon such an account; why should the whole Flock be punished? Those poor sheep, what have they done?’

‘That is very usual to those Gentlemen,’ answered he. ‘I have a hundred Stories to instance in. I cannot forbear telling you one, which many of their own devotees were scandalized at.

‘Saint Hippolyte is a place in _____, where all the inhabitants are Protestants; except the Curate, and it may be two or three poor wretches, who are not natives of the place neither.

‘A fancy took the Curate to put a trick upon the Protestants. For this, he chose a Sunday: and, the very moment that they came out of the Church, he came, and presented himself before them with his Sacrament; as they were almost all come out.

‘You must know that the [Protestant] Church is on the farther side of a Bridge; which must be passed over, going and coming. Several of them were upon the Bridge,

others had passed it; and part were yet on the other side. When the Curate appeared, all of them who could possibly, got away, and hid themselves: but neither the place, nor the great haste of the Curate, would permit all of them to do so. He went up directly to one of the company; whom he had borne an ill will to, for some time. He bids him kneel; and the other answering, That his Conscience would not suffer him to do it; the Curate gave him a cuff on the ear. He that was struck grumbled; and so did two or three who were about him. The Curate went on his way; threatening hard.

‘Next day, there were Informations made on both sides: the Curate, in his, not complaining of any person but him he had struck; and two or three others who had grumbled at it. The friends of the Curate, perceiving that he had done the wrong, proposed an Accommodation. It was, by misfortune, consented to. Prosecution ceased on each side; and it was believed that there was an end to that business. There was not a word spoken of it in above a year.

‘But the Intendant of Languedoc revived it, last winter [*i.e.*, 1680]; when they thought of nothing less; and of a matter particular [*relating*] to two or three, made it a general concern of the whole Congregation. He cites them before the Presidial of Nimes; to whom he joined himself. He condemns them to demolish their Church in a month’s time.

‘Those poor people go and cast themselves at the feet of the Court: but to no purpose. The King’s Council hears and confirms this strange Order of the Intendant: and the Church is razed to the ground.

‘The Council which gave this sentence was the first in which [LOUIS, Duke of BURGUNDY,] the Dauphin was present. The report of such an Order being spread among the Courtiers, and all being amazed that heard it; a certain person took the liberty to tell the Dauphin, That the first time he had been at the Council, he had assisted at a great injustice.

“What say you to that?” said a Duke and a Peer to the Dauphin; who had made no reply to the former.

“I say,” answered the Dauphin, “that he may be much in the right.”

I told our Friend, I had had enough of this.

‘You must not be weary,’ said he. ‘This is but the beginning of sorrows. Let us go on to the rest!’

‘Here is,’ said he, ‘a little book which comes just now to my hand. In it are stitched up together Three Acts concerning Schools. The First is of the 9th of December 1670. It forbids all Protestant Schoolmasters to teach anything in their Schools but to read and write, and Arithmetic. The Second, which is of the 4th of December 1671, ordains that the Protestants shall have but one School only in any place where they have the Public Exercise of their Religion; and but one Master in that School. The Third is of the 9th of July, this present 1681. Look on them,’ said he ‘and give me your opinion!’

‘It seems,’ said I, ‘that the First contains nothing which the Protestants may complain of; at least, if that which I read there be true, namely, That, by the Edict of Nantes, it is expressly ordained, That in the Schools of those of the pretended Reformed Religion there shall not anything be taught but to read, write, and cast accounts. For, according to this, the Edict of 1670 is entirely conformable to that other Edict, which is the law.’

‘You are in the right,’ said he: ‘but they who framed the Act have deceived you; and have made no scruple to ground it upon a Matter of Fact entirely false. For the Article which speaks of Schools doth *not* mention the least word of that restriction, which this Act assures us to be there *expressed*, named, “of teaching only to read, write, and cast accounts.” See the Article at length! It is the Thirty-seventh Particular.

Those of the said Religion may not keep public Schools unless in Cities and places where the Public Exercise of the Religion is allowed; and the Provisions which have heretofore been granted them for the erection or maintenance of Colleges shall be authenticated where occasion shall require, and have their full and entire effect.

‘Where is that express Order, “It is expressly ordered to teach only to read, write, and cast accounts,” upon which the Act is grounded?’

‘Is it possible,’ said I, ‘that they should have no sense of the horrid shame which must arise upon conviction of Forgery in a Matter of Fact of this nature?’

‘They never stick at so small a matter as that,’ said he,

‘in the Design they have of rooting out the Protestants. Those who are in France dare not open their mouths to discover such kind of falsities: and Strangers, whom they carry fair with, will not so far concern themselves as ever to suspect there should be falsehood in a Matter of Fact so easy to be made out; and which they make to be so positively affirmed by so great a King. So that they do not fear at all the shame you speak of. After all, they are but Pious Frauds; at which, they of the Pope’s Communion never blush.

‘And what say you,’ continued he, ‘to that other Act which reduces all Schools to one in each City and town, where the Protestants have the public Exercise of their Religion; and that which requires, that there should be only one Master in that School?’

I replied that it was an excellent way to restore Ignorance, the Mother of the Roman Faith and Devotion.

‘In truth,’ says he ‘the care of one Master cannot go far. Besides, there is a Protestant Church which alone hath 2,000 children of age to be taught.

‘Those poor people have done all they could to obtain of the Council, that, at least, there might be two Schools in each place: one for Boys, and the other for Girls. But it was to little purpose that they pleaded good manners for it; which such a mixture of both sexes visibly was offensive to. They were deaf to all their Prayers, and to all their Remonstrances.

‘But this is not all yet. In the execution of this rigorous Act, they have taken away from them that little which was left them. For the Judges of the places will not suffer that any Schoolmaster teach; unless they have first of all approved of him, and received him in all their Forms. As therefore their approbation is a matter full of invincible difficulties; above all, when they are to give it to a man of merit, and who may do good: it is come to pass, by means of these two Acts, that all the little Schools of the Protestants are shut up.

‘From the little Schools, they have proceeded to Colleges. You see [that], by the Act of last July [1681], which suppresses for ever that of Sedan. They have taken away also the College of Châtillon sur Loire. So that, hereafter, the Protestants in France are to lie under worse than Egyptian

darkness. I leave you now to judge, whether they are to blame who seek for light in some Goshen !'

'In truth,' said I, 'this is very hard ! But if they who inspire into the King such strange Acts, have no respect for HENRY the Great and his Edicts, at least they ought to be more tender of the glory of their own illustrious Prince ; and not to expose him, as they do, to be ranked with that Emperor, against whom the holy Fathers have cried so loudly. Is it possible they can be ignorant that this method of extinguishing the Protestant Religion is exactly the same that JULIAN took to extinguish the Christian Religion ?'

'I do not think,' said our Friend, 'that they can be ignorant of a truth so well known : especially since one of their eminent Writers hath published the History of "The Life of Saint BASIL the Great," and "of Saint GREGORY, Nazianzus." There they might have read, in more than one place, that it was likewise one of the secrets of that Emperor to ruin the Christians, by keeping them from all improvement in Learning ; and to prohibit their Colleges and Schools : which the Fathers judged to be a most subtle policy.

Monsieur GODFREY
HERMANT, Doctor
of the Sorbonne,
Tom. I, Book 2,
p. 204 ; and Notes
of the same
Chapter, p. 625.

'But their zeal transports them above the most odious comparisons. They stick not to give occasion for them every moment. I will show you an example which will astonish you. I have here lighted upon the Paper.

'They are now come to take the measures of that barbarous and inhuman King who used Midwives of his own Religion to destroy the race of the People of GOD in Egypt. For, by that Declaration of the 28th of February 1680, it is ordered, That the Wives of Protestants shall not be brought to bed, but by Midwives or Chirurgeons [*Surgeons*] who are Papists. This they make to be observed with the utmost rigour ; so far, that they put a poor woman in prison for being present at the labour of her sister ; whose delivery was so quick and fortunate, that there was neither time, nor need, to call a Midwife.

'That you may, in few words, understand of what consequence this is to our poor Brethren, I need but acquaint you, That the King of France, in his Edict of the month of June, 1680, where he forbids Papists to change their Religion, acknowledges himself, what experience doth but

too plainly justify, namely, That the Roman Catholics have always had an aversion, not only against the Protestant Religion; but against all those that profess it: and an aversion which hath been improved by the publication of Edicts, Declarations, and Acts. That is to say, That, whatever pretence the Roman Catholics make to the contrary; they have always been, and still are, enemies of the Protestants: and that the Protestants ought to look to be treated by the Catholics as enemies.

‘After this, what can they judge of the Design and consequences of a Declaration which puts the lives of their wives and children into those very hands, which the King, who makes the Declaration, acknowledges to be the hands of enemies?’

‘But farther, the Declaration itself discovers that one of its intentions was to make the children of Protestants to be baptized by Midwives, or by Popish Chirurgeons: and what mischief do they not open a way for, by that! The Protestants will hold that Baptism void, which hath been administered by such hands. They will not fail to make it be administered anew by their Pastors. This shall pass for a Capital Crime in the Pastors and Fathers; and they shall be punished as sacriligious persons, who trample on the Religion in Authority! the Religion of the King! For the most odious representations are still made use of.’

‘Nay!’ said I, ‘by this, they will likewise claim a right, from the Baptisms being administered by Papists, to make themselves masters of the education of their children.’

‘You are in the right,’ said he, ‘and that Article ought not to be forgotten. “It is just,” will they say, “that they should be brought up in the Church which hath consecrated them to GOD by Baptism; at least, that they should be bred up there, till they are of age to choose for themselves.” And when they are of age, they will say then, “That it is just they should, as well as others, be liable to the same Edict which forbids Catholics to change their Religion.” Is not this enough already to make one forsake such a Kingdom? A Christian, for less than this, would surely fly to the utmost parts of the world! But to proceed.

‘Here is that terrible Decree which fills up the measure, as to what concerns the poor children. It comes to my

hand very seasonably. It is the Declaration of the 17th of June [1681] last.

This ordains that all the children of Protestants shall be admitted to abjure the Religion of their fathers, and become Papists, as soon as they shall be seven years old. It declares that, after such an Abjuration, it shall be at the choice of the children, either to return home to their fathers, and there to be maintained; or to oblige their fathers and mothers to pay for their board and maintenance, wherever they please to live. It adds extreme penalties to be laid on them who breed up their children in foreign parts, before they are sixteen years old.

‘But I pray, read over the whole Edict!’

Upon that, I took the Declaration from our Friend’s hand, read it; and, returning it to him again, could not forbear declaring that I did not now wonder any more that the Protestants of France were in so great a consternation. ‘They are much in the right,’ said I. ‘Discretion and Conscience oblige them to depart out of a country, in which there is no security for the salvation of their dear children. They are of too great a value to be so hazarded. What is more easy, for them who have all the power, than to induce such young children to change their Religion! There is no need, for this, to show them all the Kingdoms of the World and their glory. A baby [*doll*], a picture, a little cake, will do the business: or, if there want something more, a rod will not fail to complete this worthy conversion.

‘In the meanwhile, what a condition are their wretched fathers in! Besides the most inexpressible grief of seeing what is most dear to them in the World seduced out of the Service and House of GOD; they shall likewise have this addition of anguish, of having their own children for their Persecutors. For, knowing as I do, the Spirit of that Religion, I doubt not but they will all prove rebellious and unnatural; and renounce all that love and natural respect which is due to them, whom they owe there lives to. They will give law to their parents. They will oblige them to make them great allowances; which they will dispose of as they list: and if their fathers pay them not precisely at the time appointed, I am sure no rigours shall be forgotten in the prosecution.’

‘No, certainly,’ said our Friend, ‘and I could give you a hundred instances; if there were need. Even before this

merciless Declaration was made, the goods of the parents were seized upon [and] exposed to sale, to pay for the maintenance of their children who had been inveigled from them, and been made Papists. If they dealt with them so then, before the Declaration; what will they not do, when they see themselves supported and armed with Royal Authority?

‘But there is no need I should insist farther on the dreadful consequences of this Declaration. It hath been lately printed in our language; and Notes made upon it, wherein nothing hath been forgotten.’*

The book is written impartially; though I can scarce believe what is expressed in the Title Page, that ‘it was written in French’: however, some Gallicisms are put in, to make you believe it. But the Protestants of that nation are not used to such bold expressions upon such kind of subjects: and I doubt much whether they could do it.

‘If they have reason to fear for the birth, and for the tender years, of their children; they have no less, for themselves! Here is a proof of it. It is the Declaration of the 19th of November 1680. By which it is ordained,

That whenever they are sick, they shall suffer themselves to be visited by the Papist Magistrates.

‘Thus, having made their lives burdensome to them, they take a thousand ways to torment them in their beds, as soon as any disease hath seized them. It is not henceforth permitted to them, either to be sick, or [to] die, in peace. Under colour of this Declaration, they are persecuted; and all means are tried to shake their Faith, under the pretence of being asked, What Religion they will die in?

‘First, a Judge presents himself with the awe of his presence, accompanied by one of the King’s Solicitors and two Papist Witnesses. They begin their work by driving all Protestants, who are with the sick man, out of his chamber: Father, Mother, Wife, Husband, Children, none are excepted. After that, they do with the sick person, as they list. They draw up a Verbal Process, or such as they like. Lies with them are but Pious Frauds. Whatever the sick

* Animadversions upon the French King’s Declaration against the Protestants, given at Versailles the 17th of June 1681; and registered in Par-

liament the 8th of July following. Translated out of French. London 1681.—E.A.

man answers, he hath still abjured ! if these Gentlemen please to make a conversion of it : and there is no possibility of disproving it. The Verbal Process is drawn up in good form.

‘If the sick man recovers, and refuses to go to Mass ; immediately he is subject to all the penalties of a Relapsed. If he dies, and chances to be the father of a family ; they take away all his children to breed them up in the Popish Religion ; and his estate, to preserve it, as they pretend, for the children of a Catholic father. Can any one who hath any care of his own salvation, or any affection for his children, live exposed to such dreadful inconveniences ; if GOD offers any means to avoid them ?

‘I am afraid I tire you with the recital of so many calamities !’

‘Fear not that !’ answered I, ‘I am resolved to know all !’

‘You do not consider what you say !’ replied he. ‘I should need whole weeks to tell you all ! Imagine all the surprises, all the indirect practices, all the base tricks of insinuation, and little quirks of law, that are put in ure [*use*], together with all manner of violence, to accomplish the work.

‘Neither do those enemies of the Protestants always neglect the Oracles of the Scripture. It says, “I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep of the Flock shall be scattered.” [Zech. xiii. 7.] These Gentlemen then, that they may the more easily scatter the sheep, smite everywhere the Shepherds ; and constrain them to fly. They imprison one for having, by the Word of GOD, confirmed some of his Flock, whom the Popish Doctors would pervert ; another, for being converted to the Protestant Religion in his youth, long before any law was made against pretended Apostates.

‘They hire forlorn wretches to go to the Sermons of the Protestant Ministers, and to depose before a Magistrate that the Ministers said, That the Church of Rome was idolatrous, or that the Faithful are persecuted ; That they spake ill of the Virgin MARY, or of the King. Upon this, without being heard, and though it be offered to be made out by the Deposition of an infinity almost of Persons of Credit that the testimonies of these two or three wretches are absolutely false, Orders are issued out for the seizing the bodies of the Ministers. They are clapped in gaol as soon as taken.

They are condemned to pay excessive fines. They force them to make the "Amende Honorable." They banish them the Kingdom.

'The Intendant at Rochefort suppressed one there, upon the most extravagant Deposition that was ever taken. The Deponent, having been at the Sermon of that Minister, said, That there was nothing to be found fault with in his words; but that he perceived his thoughts were not innocent.

'If there are any amongst them so happy as to confound so the False Witnesses, that the Judges are ashamed to use all those rigours: none of the charges of Imprisonment, or of the Suit, are ever recovered against any one. A Minister, who may have £60 or £70 a year, and seven or eight in family to maintain, must be condemned, with all his innocence, to pay all these great costs. I could, upon this head, tell you a hundred Stories: but that it would be too tedious. I have met, both at Paris and in other Provinces, many of these persecuted Ministers; who acquainted me with their adventures. Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, are full of them: and I am told there are some of them here in England. Their absence from their Flocks is but too good a proof how hot the Persecution is against them. And so let us go on.

'You may remember that the Edict of Nantes judged it necessary for the preservation of the estates and credit of the Protestants, and for the safety of their lives, to erect Tribunals where Supreme Justice might be administered by Judges of the one, and of the other, Religion. But all those Tribunals are suppressed: namely, the "Chambers of the Edict" of Paris and of Rouen. It is some years since the "Chambres Mi-parties" were suppressed, by the Declaration of July 1679. So that here are their fortunes, their credit, their lives, all, at the mercy of their sworn enemies. For you have not forgotten that the King of France acknowledges, in one of his Declarations, that the Papists have always hated the persons of the Protestants. Judge, then, if it be safe for them to stay longer in such a Kingdom!

'But there is no method proper to ruin them, which is not made of; so that if one fails, another may be sure to take. Synods and Conferences are absolutely necessary, for the admission of their Ministers; for the correction of

scandals; for the preservation of peace in their Congregations; for the subsistence of their Colleges; and for the support and exercise of their Discipline. At first, they kept them with all sorts of liberty. Under LOUIS XIII., they thought fit to forbid them to hold any Synod unless some Protestant Commissary, who was to be named by Court, were present. This was observed till the year 1679; when a Declaration was published, requiring that there should be a Papist Commissary in their Synods.'

'That is to say, Sir!' said I, interrupting our Friend, 'they will pry into their hearts; and perfectly know where their strength, or their weakness, lies.'

'If there were nothing but that in it,' replied our Friend, 'that Declaration would not alarm them so much as it doth. For there is nothing done in their Assemblies, which they are not willing all the World should know. They defy their most mortal enemies to prove the contrary. Can there be a more undeniable proof of this, than the practice of the Protestant Commissary: who sends to the Court a Copy, well attested, of all the results of the deliberations which are made while the Synod or Conference is held?'

'What do they fear then,' replied I, 'from the presence of a Papist Commissary?'

'Because they know, that the end of the Court cannot be to discover their secrets; since they have none: therefore it is that they justly fear that this Papist Commissary hath been set over them, to create them trouble in the most innocent affairs, to hinder those deliberations which are most necessary for the due preservation of their Flocks, to silence those Ministers among them whom he shall perceive to be of greatest ability and of credit, to dishearten one by threatenings, to corrupt another by promises, to sow dissension and division among them, and to employ all means possible to ruin them.

'These are the just fears that have hindered them, till this present, from assembling any Synods with this so destructive a condition: hoping continually that, it may be, GOD would touch the heart of their King. But perceiving no favourable change, and not being able to subsist without holding their Synods; I learned, as I came out of France, that these poor people are resolved to run these hazards; and that their Synods are upon assembling in several places.

The Jesuits' plans to starve all the Protestants. 1681.

'May GOD vouchsafe to preside in the midst of them by his grace; and remove far from them all the Evils they have cause to fear! It may be, by their good examples and their religious behaviour, [that] they may convert them, who are set over them for a snare; as it happened to their fathers in the last Age also. Then was contrived the placing of Papist Commissaries to spy out their liberty. But these Commissaries were so taken with the modesty, the piety, the charity, the decency of order, and the devout prayers, of the first Reformers, that they gave glory to GOD, and embraced the Religion which they had persecuted.

'The Jesuits, nevertheless, have thought all these Evils, of which I have spoken, too slack and gentle. That they may not be at any more trouble; they will do the business once for all! They have contrived to starve all the Protestants; and, to effect this, they have made all the means of gaining a livelihood to be taken from them, by the Acts of the Council of State of the 6th of November 1679, and of the 28th of June 1681.

'1. They have turned out of all Jurisdictions and Seigniores, which are almost infinite in France, all Protestants who had been admitted Officers in those Jurisdictions. All Stewards, Bailiffs, Solicitors, Officers of the Exchequer, Registrars, Notaries, Clerks, Serjeants, and Ushers, that were Protestants, of all sorts, throughout the whole Kingdom, are cashiered; by virtue of these Acts. They have reduced to beggary thousands of families; which had no other subsistence but by these Employments.

'2. Look upon those two Pieces; which they procured also for the same intent. The title of the one is, "The Order of the Council Royal of the Finances [or Treasury], of the 11th of June 1680." The other is, "An Order of the Council of State of the 17th of August of the same year." By the means of these two Pieces, the Jesuits have made the Protestants to be kept out of all the affairs of the Finances, Customs which they call "Traités Forains," of Aids, Gabelles, Taxes of all sorts of Commissions: to which the Edict of Nantes ordered that they should be admitted indifferently with the Papists. This second [device] hath taken away the bread of a vast number of families more.

'3. They, every day, make the Protestant Captains and

Officers, who have served so worthily by land and sea, to be turned out of their Commands. Those brave men (after they have spent their estates to advance their Master's honour; and ventured their lives a thousand times for his glory) see themselves shamefully, as so many cowards, cashiered; without any exception for them who, having signalized and distinguished themselves by particular actions, had deserved extraordinary pensions. Because they will not be less faithful to GOD than they have been to their King; the Jesuits are resolved [that] disgrace and beggary shall be the reward of their service. By this, they take away from all the Protestant Nobility the means of maintaining themselves in that rank in which GOD, by their birth, hath placed them.

'4. As to the Merchants, look what the Jesuits have thought upon, to ruin them! They have obtained an Order of Council of State, of the 19th of November 1680, which grants to all Protestants who change their Religion,

The term and forbearance of Three Years, for the payment of the Principal of their debts: with prohibition to all their Creditors to bring any Action against them during that time; upon pain of Non-suit, *Noli prosequi*, and all charges, damages, costs, and interests.

'I perceive very well,' said I to our Friend, 'that this puts those who revolt [*become Roman Catholics*] in a way to secure and withdraw their goods; and to enjoy in peace the fruits of their turning Bankrupts: but I do not see how this tends to the ruin of those Merchants in general, who persevere in the Protestant Religion.'

'That is,' said he, smiling, 'because you have not so subtle a wit, nor are so quick-sighted, as the Jesuits. You know very well that Merchants subsist by their credit. If their credit be low, they must fall! there is no more trading for them! their business is done! Now, do you not perceive that the credit of all Protestant Merchants is ruined by this Order; which puts them in a way of turning Bankrupts as they please, with all indemnity; and of enriching themselves with those goods they have been trusted with. Who, do you think, after this, will be so silly as to take their word? Who can tell, with any certainty, whether they with whom they deal, are persons who will continue in the Protestant Religion? Is there anything more common than such changes in Religion now a days?'

‘It is enough,’ said I. ‘I was mistaken. I perceive now very well that the ruin of the Protestant Merchants is unavoidable. Go on to the other Professions! For I see they are resolved that no Protestant shall get bread among them.’

‘You are in the right,’ said he. ‘You have seen it in many of them. I will shew it to you now in the rest.

‘5. All Papists who drive any Trade, or exercise any Art, are forbidden to take any Protestant Apprentice. I have seen the Order; but I have it not now by me. By this, you see, that all young men of the Protestant Religion, who have not means of their own, are reduced to this extremity: either of starving in France, or turning Papists, or forsaking that Kingdom. For the same Order forbids any Protestant who drives or professes any Trade, to have under him any Apprentice, either Papist or Protestant; that so they may not be able to do work enough to maintain their families.

‘6. The Grand Master and Grand Prévot have given notice, by virtue of Letters under the Signet, to all Protestants who had Privileges whereby they had right to keep shops, as Chirurgions, Apothecaries, Watchmakers, and other Tradesmen, to forbear using their Privileges any longer; and to shut up their shops: which hath been punctually executed.

‘7. They have established Societies of Physicians at Rochelle, and in other places; where, as I am assured from good hands, there were none ever before. None but Papists will be received into those Societies. By this, the Jesuits have found out the way, at one stroke, to hinder the practice of all the Protestant Physicians; however able and experienced they may be: insomuch that the lives of all sick Protestants are, by this means, put into the hands of their enemies.

‘8. In short, there is scarce now any place in France where they may get their livelihood. They are everywhere molested and hindered from exercising in quiet any Trade or Art which they have learned.

‘To dispatch them quite, they require of them, not only that they shall continue to bear all the burdens of the Government, although they take from them the means of doing it: but also that they bear *double* to what they did,

that is to say, They use a rigour far greater than what was practised upon the People of GOD, when they were commanded to deliver the same tale of bricks; and yet had not straw given to them as formerly. [Ex. v.] In effect, at the same time that they will not allow them of the Protestant Religion to get a penny; they exact of them to pay the King *double*, nay, *treble*, to what they paid before.

'Monsieur DE MARILLAC, Intendant of Poitou, hath an Order in Council, which gives him alone the power of the Imposition of the Tax in that great Province. He discharges [*under-taxes*] the Papists, who are at ease; and overcharges the poor Protestants with their proportion; who, before that, fainted under their own proper burden, and could bear no more.

'I will tell you farther, on this occasion, that the Jesuits have obtained an Order of the King, by which all Protestants who change their Religion are exempted, for two years, from all quartering of Soldiers, and all contributions of money which are levied on that account: which also tends to the utter ruin of them who continue firm in the Protestant Religion. For they throw all the burden upon them, of which the others are eased. From thence, in part, it is, that all the houses of those poor people are filled with Soldiers; who live there as if in an enemy's country.

'I do not know if the zeal of the Jesuits will rest there. For they want yet the satisfaction of keeping Saint Bartholomew's Day, as they kept it in the former Age. It is true, what is allowed them is not far from it. For which is the better of the two, To stab with one blow? or to make men die, by little and little, of hunger and misery?'

'As to the blow,' said I to our Friend, 'I do not understand you. Pray, if you please, explain yourself! What do you mean by "keeping Saint Bartholomew's Day"?'

'Monsieur [(HARDOUIN DE) BEAUMONT] DE PÉRÉFIXE, that Archbishop of PARIS who hath writ[ten] the "Life of HENRY IV.," answered he, 'shall tell you for me. There is the book. The place may be easily found. Here it is, "Six days after, which was Saint Bartholomew's Day, all the Huguenots who came to the [Wedding] Feast, had their

throats cut: amongst others, the Admiral, twenty persons of the best Quality, twelve hundred Gentlemen, about four thousand

Sur l'an 1572.

Edit. Amsterdam,

p. 30.

soldiers and citizens. Afterwards, through all the Cities of the Kingdom, after the example of Paris, near a hundred thousand were massacred. An execrable action! such as never was: and I hope to GOD never will be the like!"

'You know then well,' continued our Friend, directing his speech to me, 'You know well now, what it is to "Keep Saint Bartholomew's Day": and I believe that what I said is no riddle to you.

'The Jesuits and their friends set a great value on themselves in the World; because they forbear cutting the Protestants' throats; as they did then. But, merciless as you are! do you ever the less take away their lives? You say, You do not kill them: but do you not make them pine to death with hunger and vexation?

'He that gives slow poison, is he less a Poisoner than he who gives what is violent and quick? since both of them destroy the life at last!

'Pardon this short transport!' said our Friend. 'In good earnest, I cannot restrain my indignation when I see them use the utmost of cruelty; and yet would be looked on as patterns of all moderation and meekness!

'Let me impart to you Three Letters; which two of our friends who are yet in France have written to me, since I came from Paris. I received the Two first at Calais; before I got into the Pacquet Boat. The last was delivered to me last night, after you went away from my chamber. You will there see, with what gentleness they proceed in those countries.'

He thereupon read me his Letters: and I have since took copies of them; and send them here enclosed.

A Copy of the First Letter.

WE ARE JUST upon the point of seeing that Reformation, which hath cost so much labour and pains and so much blood, come to nothing in France. To know the condition of the Protestants in the several Provinces of this Kingdom, you need but read what the first Christians suffered, under the reigns of the Emperors NERO, DOMITIAN, TRAJAN, MAXIMIN, DIOCLESIAN, and such like.

There are four Troops of Horse in Poitou; who live at free quarters

upon all of the Protestant Religion, without any exception. When they have pillaged the houses of them who will not go to Mass; they tie them to their horses' tails, and drag them thither by force.

The Intendant [Monsieur DE MARILLAC,] whom they have sent thither, who is their most bitter enemy, hath his Witnesses ready suborned, who accuse whom they please, of what crimes they please; and after that, cast the poor men into dark Dungeons, beat them with cudgels, and then pass Sentence of Death to terrify them. Afterwards, under-hand, they send others to try them by fair means; to promise them that their mourning shall be turned into joy, if they will but go to Mass. Those whom GOD gives the grace to resist, die in the Dungeons, through unspeakable anguish.

Three Gentlemen of Quality, who went about to confirm some of the poor people in their village, that began to waver, were presently clapped up [in irons], flax put about their necks, and then set on fire; and so they were scorched, till they said they would renounce their Religion.

There would be no end, if I should relate all that is done. This you may be assured of, that the People of Israel were never so oppressed by the Egyptians as the Protestants are by their own countrymen.

A Copy of the Second Letter.

TO MAKE GOOD my promise of giving you an exact Account of the continuance of the Persecution which is raised against the Protestants in France; I shall acquaint you, That they of Poitiers are threatened with being made a Garrison this winter. I say, they, the Protestants; for none but they, must quarter any of them.

Monsieur DE MARILLAC gives himself up wholly to the making of Proselytes.

The Deputies of Poitiers are now here to make complaint of the violences they still labour under. They offer by a Petition which they have presented, at the cost of their lives, if they are found guilty of any falsehood, or if they do not make out what they say.

They set forth that, by the orders of Monsieur DE MARILLAC, the Protestants are dealt with as declared enemies; that their goods and their houses are plundered; their persons assaulted; and that the Soldiers are employed as the Executioners of these outrages. That they are quartered upon the Protestants only. That, besides the excessive expense they put them to, they exact money of them with dreadful oaths and execrations. They knock them down. They drag women by the hair of the head, and with ropes about their necks. They have put

them to the torture with screws; by clapping their fingers into a vice, and squeezing them by degrees. They have bound aged men, eighty years old, and beaten them; and have misused, before their eyes, their children who came to comfort them. They hinder handicrafts men [*artizans*] from working. They take from labourers what they use for their livelihood.

They set their goods openly to sale; and they clap their swords and pistols to their breasts who are not fright[en]ed with their other usages. They drag them, [clothed] in sheets, into their Churches. They throw Holy Water in their faces; and then say, 'They are Catholics!'; and shall be proceeded against, as Relapsed, if they live otherwise. It is not permitted to these miserable persons to complain. Those who would have attempted it, have been seized on; and the Prisons are full of them. They are detained there, without any Process being made against them; and even without so much as having their names entered in the Gaol Books.

If any Gentleman speaks to Monsieur DE MARILLAC; he answers them, That they should meddle with their own business! that otherwise he will lay them fast!

This is a taste of what they are doing here.

A Copy of the Third Letter.

[By Sir J. P., of 31 August 1681, O.S.]

B EING VERY BUSY; it shall suffice, at this time, to send you a copy of a Letter, which I, just now, received from Saintes, concerning the Protestants of this Kingdom. Sir J. P., our common friend, writ it me. He is now making his Tour of France. I intreated him to inform himself, as well as he could, how they treated the poor people in those places that he was to pass through; that he might give me a full Account. This is his Letter, dated the last of August [1681], Old Style.

I am now going out of Aunis; where I met with nothing but objects of compassion. The Intendant of Rochfort, who is Monsieur DU MUINS, lays all waste. It is the same person concerning whom, at [(JEAN BAPTISTE) COLBERT,] the Marquis DE SEIGNELAY's, we were told so many pleasant Stories, last winter, at Saint Germain. Do not you remember that they talked much of a certain Picard [*a native of Picardy*], who owed all his fortune [*career*] to his Wife; and whom the Marquis DE SEIGNELAY treats always as the worst of men? That is the man! He is born to do mischief, as much as ever man was; and his employment hath increased his Insolence beyond measure.

To this he hath added, to the Protestants' grief, all the barbarous zeal of Ignorance: and, if the King would let him do it, he would soon act over again the Tragedy of Saint Bartholomew's [Day].

About ten days ago [21st August, 1681, *O.S.*], he went to a great town in Aunis, called, Surgères; accompanied by his Provost, and about forty Archers. He began his feats with a Proclamation that all the Huguenots should change their Religion: and, upon their refusal, he quartered his Troop upon those poor people. He made them live there at discretion; as in an enemy's country. He made their goods to be thrown into the streets; and their beds, under the horses' feet. By his order, the vessels of wine and brandy were staved; and their horses' heels washed with it. Their corn was sold, or rather given away, for a fourth part of what it was worth: and the same was done to all the Tradesmen's goods. Men, Women, and Children, were put to the torture; were dragged by force to the Popish Churches: and so great cruelty was used towards them, that the greatest part, not being able longer to endure the extremity of the pain, renounced their Religion. By the same means, they forced them to give it, under their hands, 'That they had abjured without constraint; and of their free choice.'

The goods of those who found means to escape, are sentenced to be sold; and to be pillaged.

Proud of so noble Expedition, our good man returns to Rochefort, the place of his ordinary abode; forbids all the Protestants, who are there pretty numerous, to remove any of their goods out of the town, under penalty of confiscation of what should be seized, and corporal punishment over and above; and he commands them all to change their Religion in five days. This was done by Sound of Trumpet; that no one might plead ignorance. The term expires to-morrow.

After this, he marched to Mozé, which is another great town in Aunis; where there is a very fair Church of the Protestants, and a very able Minister. There he set out the same Prohibitions, and the same Commands, that he had at Rochefort. Upon this, a very worthy person of the place, and Elder of the Church, named, Monsieur JARRY, addressed him with a most humble Remonstrance: and this cruel and barbarous man made him presently to be clapped up in irons. After this, he quartered his men upon those of the Protestant Religion: where he exerciseth the same violence which he did at Surgères, Nevertheless hitherto no one hath made shipwreck of his Conscience in this place. They all suffer this cruel Persecution with an admirable constancy. GOD, of his mercy, support them to the end!

All the rest of Aunis is in extreme consternation.

There are likewise Prohibitions made at Rochelle against the shipping of any goods: insomuch that all they who fly away, run a

great hazard of carrying their lives only for a prey. Adieu.'

I will end mine, as Sir J. P. doth his letter, All your friends, etc.

'Do you intend to conclude there?' said I to our Friend.

'I have a mind to do so,' replied he, 'though I have a thousand insolencies and outrages more yet to acquaint you with. But it is late: and I have produced but too much to justify the French Protestants who forsake their country, from any suspicion of impatience and wantonness.

You see now the *Reasonable Means* that are used to convert them.

'Those goodly Means which have been employed are:

'To despise the most sacred Edict that ever was made by men.

'To count as nothing, Promises repeated a hundred times, most solemnly by authentic Declarations.

'To reduce people to utmost beggary.

'To make them die of Hunger; in my opinion, a more cruel death than that by Fire or Sword, which, in a moment, ends life and miseries together.

'To lay upon them all sorts of afflictions.

'To take away their Churches, their Ministers, their goods, their children; their liberty of being born, of living, or of dying, in peace.

'To drive them from their Employments, their Honours, their houses, their native country.

'To knock them on the head.

'To drag them to the Mass, with ropes about their necks.

'To imprison them, to cast them into Dungeons, to give them the Question [*put them to torture*], to put them to the Rack, to make them die in the midst of torments: and that too, without so much as any Formality of Justice.

'This what they call *Reasonable Means, Gentle and Innocent Means*.

'For these are the terms which [(JEAN BAPTISTE) ADHÉMAR DE MONTEIL DE GRIGAN,] the Archbishop of CLAUDIOPOLIS useth, at the head of all the Deputies of the Clergy of France, in the Remonstrance they made to their King, the last year, when they took leave of His Majesty.*

'I must needs read you the passage. Here is the

* There was an earlier similar Remonstrance made by the same Archbishop and the Clergy, on August 17

1675, to LOUIS XIV. It was printed in English in 1677. See p. 35.

Remonstrance; and the very words of that Archbishop:

“Those gentle and innocent means which you make use of, Sir, with so much success, to bring the Heretics into the bosom of the Church, are becoming the bounty and goodness of your Majesty; and conformable, at the same time, to the mind of the Divine Pastor; who always retains bowels of mercy for these strayed sheep. He wills that they should be brought back; and not hunted

Printed at Paris.

Cum privilegio.

‘Chez LEONARD,
Imprimeur du Roi.’
1680.

away: because he desires their salvation, and regrets their loss. How far is this conduct from the rigour wherewith the Catholics are treated in those neighbouring Kingdoms which are infected with Heresy! Your Majesty makes it appear, what difference there is between Reason and Passion! between the meekness of Truth and the rage of Imposture! between the zeal of the House of GOD and the fury of Babylon!”’

‘In good truth!’, cried I to our Friend, after the reading of this passage, ‘this is insufferable! and I cannot forbear taking my turn to be a little in passion. Methinks, they should blush to death, who call those cruelties which have been executed upon innocent sheep, *Meekness*: and that, *Rigour* and *the fury of Babylon*, which we have inflicted upon tigers, who thirsted after our blood, and had sworn the destruction of Church and State.

‘They plague and torment to death more than a Million of peaceable persons; who desire only the freedom of serving GOD according to his Word and the laws of the land; who cannot be accused of the least show of conspiracy; and who (by preserving that illustrious Blood which now reigns there) have done to France services which deserved, together with the Edict of Pacification, the love and the hearty thanks of all true Frenchmen. And we have put to death, in a legal manner, it may be, Twenty wretched persons (the most of which, had forfeited their lives to the Law for being found here), convinced by divers Witnesses, who were the greatest part Papists, of having attempted against the sacred life of our King, and the lives of millions of his faithful subjects. Surely, they would have had us let them do their work! let them have rooted out that Northern Heresie! which they were (as they assure us, by their own Letters) in so great, and so near, hopes of accomplishing. But we had

not forgot the Massacre of Ireland [in 1641]: wherein, by
 C. M. *Hibernus* the confession of one of their own Doctors,
 [— CORNELIUS who knew it very well, more than 150,000
 O'MAHONY], of our brethren, in the midst of a profound
 S. Th. Mag. *Dispu-* peace, without any provocation, by a most
tatio Apologetica sudden and barbarous Rebellion, had their
de jure Regni throats cut by that sort of Catholics, whose
Hiberniæ pro fate they so much bewail.'

Catholicis. N. 20

[Francofurti. 1645.]

'Although your transport be very just, and I am very well pleased with it,' said our Friend to me, 'I must needs interrupt you, to bring you back again to our poor Protestants. What say you to their condition?'

'I say,' I answered, 'that there can be nothing more worthy [of] compassion; and that we must entirely forget all we owe to the Communion of Saints, if we open not our hearts, and receive them as our true Brethren. I will be sure to publish, in all places, what you have informed me; and will stir up all persons to express in their favour all the duties of Hospitality and Christian Charity.'

'To the end,' said he to me, 'you may do it with a better heart; at our next meeting I will fully justify them against all those malicious Reports which are given out against their Loyalty and their Obedience to the Higher Powers. Let us take for that, all to-morrow seven-night!'

'As you please!' said I.

So we took leave one of another: and thus you have an end of a long Letter.

Assuring you, that I shall ever be,

Sir,

Yours, etc.,

FINIS.

[In the 1683 enlarged Edition of this Text, under the title of, 'An Apology for the Protestants of France, in reference to the Persecutions they are under, at this day. In Six Letters.'

The additional Letters are :—

Letter III. The French Protestants are no Anti-Monarchists.

Letter IV. The Protestant Loyalty vindicated against MAIMBOURG.

Letter V. French Protestants' innocency, under LOUIS XIII.

Letter VI. The Papists themselves, Anti-Monarchists.]

An Account
of the
Persecutions and Oppressions
of the
Protestants in France

[*By*
Jean Claude.]

Printed in the Year 1686.

Note.

This Text is the First, and an Abridged, Translation of CLAUDE's anonymous Work into our language.

It is given here, because it is the identical English Impression that was, by the orders of King JAMES II, burnt, by the Common Hangman, before the Royal Exchange, on Wednesday, May 5 1686.

Lord MACAULAY gives the following account of this transaction.

'About the same time the King began to show, in an unequivocal manner, the feeling which he really entertained towards the banished Huguenots. While he had still hoped to cajole his Parliament into submission, and to become the head of an European coalition against France, he had affected to blame the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to pity the unhappy men whom persecution had driven from their country. He had caused it to be announced that, at every church in the kingdom, a collection should be made under his sanction for their benefit. A proclamation on this subject had been drawn up in terms which might have wounded the pride of a sovereign less sensitive and vainglorious than Lewis. But all was now changed. The principles of the treaty of Dover were again the principles of the foreign policy of England. Ample apologies were therefore made for the discourtesy with which the English government had acted towards France in showing favour to exiled Frenchmen. The proclamation which had displeased Lewis was recalled. The Huguenot ministers were admonished to speak with reverence of their oppressor in their public discourses, as they would answer it at their peril. James not only ceased to express commiseration for the sufferers, but declared that he believed them to harbour the worst designs, and owned that he had been guilty of an error in countenancing them. One of the most eminent of the refugees, John Claude, had published on the Continent a small volume in which he described with great force the sufferings of his brethren. Barillon demanded that some opprobrious mark should be put on this book. James complied, and in full council declared it to be his pleasure that Claude's libel should be burned by the hangman before the Royal Exchange. Even Jeffreys was startled, and ventured to represent that such a proceeding was without example, that the book was written in a foreign tongue, that it had been printed at a foreign press, that it related entirely to transactions which had taken place in a foreign country, and that no English government had ever animadverted on such works. James would not suffer the question to be discussed. "My resolution," he said "is taken. It has become the fashion to treat Kings disrespectfully; and they must stand by each other. One King should always take another's part; and I have particular reasons

Note.

for showing this respect to the King of France.” There was silence at the board: the order was forthwith issued; and Claude’s pamphlet was committed to the flames, not without the deep murmurs of many who had always been reputed steady loyalists.

‘The promised collection was long put off under various pretexts. The King would gladly have broken his word: but it was pledged so solemnly that he could not for very shame retract. Nothing, however, which could cool the zeal of congregations was omitted. It had been expected that, according to the practice usual on such occasions, the people would be exhorted to liberality from the pulpits. But James was determined not to tolerate declamations against his religion and his ally. The Archbishop of Canterbury was therefore commanded to inform the clergy that they must merely read the brief, and must not presume to preach on the sufferings of the French Protestants. Nevertheless the contributions were so large that, after all deductions, the sum of forty thousand pounds was paid into the Chamber of London. Perhaps none of the munificent subscriptions of our own age has borne so great a proportion to the means of the nation.

‘The King was bitterly mortified by the large amount of the collection which had been made in obedience to his own call. He knew, he said, what all this liberality meant. It was mere Whiggish spite to himself and his religion.’ History ii. 76-78. Ed. 1858.

The following is the official account that appeared in the ‘London Gazette’:

Whitehall, May 8.—The French Ambassador having, by a Memorial, complained to His Majesty, That a Book, intituled, ‘*Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France,*’ was sold and dispersed in this Kingdom: in which Book are many Falsities, and scandalous Reflections upon the Most Christian King: And that the said Book was likewise Translated into English, and Printed here. His Majesty was pleased to Order, That diligent Enquiry should be made after the Translator and Printer of the same, that they may be prosecuted according to Law: And that a printed Copy of the said Book in French, and another in English, should be Publickly burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman; which was accordingly put in execution on Wednesday last, [May 5,] before the Royal Exchange. No. 2136. Monday, May 10, 1686.

HILARY RENEU, in 1707, gives the following account of this First English Translation.

‘This book was first published in French in the year 1686: and then translated into English; a copy whereof a Merchant of London sent to one of his brothers in France.

He, some time after, acquainted him, That, upon the instances of [PAUL BARILLON,] the French Ambassador at this Court, the same had been ordered to be burnt; and the Translator and Printer thereof almost ruined by imprisonments and fines: and that the Papists took a great deal of care to suppress all the copies; lest the Nation should be made acquainted with the truths contained therein, where the Cruelties exercised against the

Note.

Protestants of France, who would not abjure their Religion and embrace the Romish, are so truly represented.

It was at the same time that preparations were making, in order to put the same Methods in practice against the Protestants of England : where the Pope kept openly a Nuncio ; besides several Monks and Jesuits.

There were also several Writers, as Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE and others, employed and well paid to assert, That there was no Persecution in France ; but, contrariwise, Voluntary Conversions to the Romish Religion : and that, as to the great number of people who left their country to come over into this, under pretence of Religion ; they did it only for private ends and self interest.

But these Impostures were soon borne down by the sight of so many poor wretches that thronged hither for refuge from those dreadful Calamities which were inflicted on them : the consideration of which made the Nation seriously think of securing the Protestant Religion ; which its enemies designed to destroy here, as they had done in France and elsewhere.

Some years after, the Gentleman, who received this book in English, came over to augment the number of the Refugees in this Kingdom : and enquiring after it, it was impossible for him to light on any other copy here.

But, having been told since, that the anonymous Author was that excellent Man of GOD, the late Monsieur CLAUDE, Minister at Paris, who died in Holland soon after he had written this book ; by this means, he got one in French : and, very lately, by the care of a Reverend Divine, another in English, perhaps the only one extant.*

Doctor MANNINGHAM.

Which being compared together, it appears that the Translator, for some regard he had to those Times, when the Enemies of our holy Religion were in great credit, did designedly omit several Matters of Fact, and them the most important to the Causes of the Refugees : insomuch that above the fourth part of it was cut off in the translation ; though the Translator fared never the better for it.

Seeing then the great efforts made to suppress this Book ; it the rather deserves to be preserved among Protestants to all Posterity. And forasmuch as the Refugees in this Kingdom durst not, by reason of the strict Prohibition, keep any of them ; it is thought [to be] of the utmost importance to revive it again : especially at this juncture, which seems so much more favourable than the former, and to offer it entire, as if it were a new Work, to the nation ; according to the Refugees' first intent : in which view, it is now reprinted in both languages, for the convenience of those that understand but one.

The whole of RENEU'S Preface is reprinted at pp 413-431.

E.A.

* This is a mistake. E.A.

An exact Account of the cruel Oppressions
and Persecutions of the French
Protestants.

THE CRUELITIES EXERCISED, of late, on the Protestants in France, do appear so detestable to all who have not divested themselves of Humanity, that, no wonder, the Authors of them use their utmost endeavours to lessen, what they cannot conceal. Were not this worse than barbarous usage a Project of a long contrivance; a man might, for charity sake, suppose this, their palliating it, to be an acknowledgement of their own displeasure at it. However, their boldness is inexcusable, who shall endeavour to impose upon the World in matters known, not by Gazettes and News-Letters: but by an infinite number of Fugitives, of all conditions; who have nothing left but tears and miseries, to bring along with them into foreign nations. It is certainly too barbarous to oppress innocent people in their own country; and afterwards to stifle their Complaints in other places where they are driven: and, by this means, to deprive them of a Compassion which the bare instincts of Nature never refuse to the miserable. Yet this is the course our Persecutors of France have held. Their Cruelty must be attended with Impostures, that the mischiefs which they have acted may pass undiscovered.

I think we should be much to blame, if we suffer them to go on in this Second Design, as they have done in the First; and therefore we shall choose some principal Instances: whereon we shall make such Reflections, as thereby to judge with greater evidence and exactness on the whole Proceeding; and we shall advance nothing in our Reflections, but what all the World of reasonable people will allow.

To begin with Matters of Fact. There is nobody but

knows that, a while after his present Majesty of France [LOUIS XIV.,] came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War [of the Fronde, 1648—1653] ; which proved so sharp and desperate as brought the State within a hair's breadth of utter ruin. It is also known that, in the midst of these Troubles, those of the Reformed Religion kept their loyalty in so inviolable a manner, and attended it with such a zeal and extraordinary fervour, that the King found himself obliged to give public marks of it, by a Declaration, made at Saint Germain, [May 21,] in the year 1652. Then, as well at Court as in the field, each strove to proclaim loudest the deserts of the Reformists : and [ANNE of Austria,] the Queen Mother herself readily acknowledged, That they had preserved the State.

This is known by all : but it will hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our enemies themselves a hundred times told us, and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, That this was precisely the principal and most essential Cause of our ruin ; and of all the mischiefs which we have since suffered. Endeavours were used to envenom all these important services in the King's and his Ministers' minds, by persuading them, That if, on this occasion, this Party could conserve the State : this shewed they could likewise overthrow it, should they have ranked themselves on the other side ; and might still do it, when such a like occasion should offer itself. That therefore this Party must be suppressed ! and the good they have done no longer regarded but as an indication of the mischief which they may, one day, be capable of doing. This diabolical reasoning, which hinders subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid drawing on themselves chastisements instead of recompenses, was relished as a piece of most refined [*subtle*] Policy.

For, as soon as the Kingdom was settled in peace, the Design was advanced of destroying the Reformists ; and, the better to make them comprehend that their zeal had ruined them, the Cities which had shewed most of it, were first begun with. Immediately then, on slight pretences, they fell on Rochelle, Montauban, and Millau ; three towns, where those of the Reformed Religion had most signalized themselves for the Interest of the Court. Rochelle underwent an infinite number of Prescriptions. Montauban and Millau were sacked by the soldiers.

BUT THESE BEING but particular strokes and mere Preludes, which decided nothing; they tarried not long before they made appear the Great and General Machines they were to use, in the carrying out of their intended Design to the last extremity.

It will be a difficult matter to give an exact account of these several Methods: for never human malice produced such a multiplicity of them! Every day brought forth new ones, for twenty years together!

To take only notice of the chief of them: which were

First. Law Suits in Courts of Justice.

Secondly. Deprivations from all kinds of Offices and Employs; and, in general, of all ways of subsistence.

Thirdly. The Infractions of Edicts; under the notion of Explications of them.

Fourthly. New Laws and Orders.

Fifthly. Juggles and amusing [*deceptive*] Tricks.

Sixthly. The animating of [the] people; and the inspiring of them with hatred against us.

These are the most considerable means which the Persecutors have employed to attain their ends, during several years. I say, during several years: for what they designed being no easy matter, they needed, therefore, time to order their Engines; not to take notice of their traverses and interruptions by foreign wars: yet whose success [in them] has not a little contributed to increase their courage, and to confirm them in the Design which they had against us.

THE FIRST OF these means has had an infinite extent. We should begin with the recital of all the Condemnations of Churches, or Suppression of Exercises of Religion [*Public Worship*]; and all the other vexations which have happened by the establishing of Commissaries. This was a snare dexterously laid immediately after the Treaty of the Pyrenees [in 1660]. The King, under the pretence of repairing the Edict of Nantes, sent them into the Provinces. The Roman Catholic Commissary was everywhere His Majesty's Intendant: who was, be sure, a fit man for the purpose, armed with the Royal Authority; and who was well instructed in the secret Aim. The other [Protestant Commissary] was either some hungry Officer, a slave to the Court; or some poor Gentleman, who had usually neither intelligence requisite in this sort of affairs, nor the liberty of speaking his sentiments. The Clergy had set them up. He was their ambulatory Spirit. The Syndics were received before them, as formal parties in all our affairs. The Assignations were given in their name; the Prosecutions also: and as well the discords of the Commissaries, as the Appeals from their Ordinances, must be finally decided in the King's Counsel.

Thus, in general, all the rights of the Churches for the Exercises of Religion, the burying places, and all such dependencies, were called into a review; and consequently exposed to the fresh pursuits of the Clergy, and the ill intention of the Judges. In which, there was not the least dram of Equity. For the Edict having been once executed according to the intention of him that made it,—there needed no second touches; it being, moreover, wholly unlikely that those of the Reformed Religion (who had been ever, in the Kingdom, the Suffering Party) could *usurp* anything therein; and extend its limits beyond what belonged to them.

But there were other Designs in hand than the providing against the Contraventions: and therefore, by this

Order [of 1660], the greatest part of the Churches, cited for the justifying of their rights, saw themselves soon condemned, one after another, by Decrees of Council; how good and sufficient soever their Titles and Defences were. Scarcely passed a week, wherein these kinds of Decrees were not made; and if it happened that the modesty of the Judges saved any of them, by the great evidence of their right, as this sometimes happened: besides that the number was small in comparison of those condemned; the Judges often received orders to condemn them, when they shewed that they could not in Conscience do it.

But the oppressions of this kind did not terminate in the bare condemnation of Churches: for particular persons had their part. In ordinary and civil affairs, where the matter concerned a piece of land, perhaps a house, a debt between a Roman Catholic and a person of our Religion; Religion was, to be sure, always one of the chief heads of the accusation. The Monks, the Emissaries, the Confessors, and all the whole tribe of that crew, interested themselves in the affair. In the Courts of Justice, all the cry was, 'I plead against a Heretic! I have to do with a man of a Religion odious to the State; and which the King would have extirpated!'

By this means, there was no longer any Justice to be expected. Few Judges were proof against this false zeal: for fear of drawing the fury of the whole Cabal against him; or of passing for a favourer of Heretics.

It is not to be imagined how many unjust sentences, this sort of prejudices has given in all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many men's families have been ruined by them! When anyone complained: the answer was ready, 'You have the remedy in your own hands! Why do you not turn Catholic?'

Yet all this had been nothing, had the Persecution kept there; and not proceeded to fasten on the reputation, the liberty, and even the very lives, of persons, by a general Inundation, as a man may term it, of Criminal Processes. Writings were printed at Paris, and sent from thence to all Cities and parishes of the Kingdom; which empowered the Curates, Churchwardens, and others, to make an exact enquiry into whatsoever the pretended Reformists might have done or said, for twenty years past, as well on the subject of Religion as otherwise; to make Information of

this before the Justices of the place; and [to] punish them without remission.

So have we seen, for several years, the execution of these Orders. The Prisons everywhere filled with this kind of criminals; neither were False Witnesses lacking; and that which was most horrible was, that though the Judges were convinced that they were Knights of the Post [*notorious perjurers*]; yet they maintained them, and carried them through such points as they knew to be untrue. They condemned innocent and virtuous persons to be whipped; to the Gallies; to banishment; and to Public Penances: and if a spark of Honour or Conscience at any time hindered them; yet there was always, at least, an impunity for the False Witnesses.

This kind of Persecution chiefly fell on the Ministers. For a long time, they might not preach without having for Auditors, or to speak better, Observators, a troop of Priests, Monks, Missionaries, and such kind of people; who made no scruple to charge them with things which they not so much as thought of, and to turn others into a contrary meaning. They also went so far as to divine the thoughts, to make crimes: for as soon as ever any Minister spake of Egypt, PHARAOH, the Israelites, of good or bad people, as it is difficult not to speak of these matters when they explained the Scripture; these spies never failed to report that by 'Egypt' and 'the wicked,' they meant the Catholics; and by 'the Israelites,' the pretended Reformists. The Judges concerned themselves in this; and, what is most strange, the Ministers of State themselves respected these interpretations of thoughts as evident proofs! On these grounds, the Magistrates filled the Prisons with this kind of poor people, keeping them therein for whole years together; and often inflicted on them several corporal penalties.

IT IS ALREADY seen, by this First kind of Persecution, what were the usages shewed in France to the Reformists, before they came to the utmost violence. But we shall see them appear more, in what we have to add touching the privation of Offices and Employs; and, in general, of the means of gaining a livelihood: which is the Second Way we mentioned, that has been used to effect our ruin. It is not hard to comprehend that in a great Kingdom, as France is, where the Protestants were dispersed over all parts, there were an infinite number who could not subsist, nor maintain their families, but by the liberty of serving the public, either in Offices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties; each according to his Calling. HENRY the Great was so well convinced of the necessity and justice of this, that he made it an express Article, the most distinct, perhaps, and formal, of all contained in his Edict: and therefore it was here the Persecutors thought themselves obliged to do their utmost endeavours.

In this regard, they began with the Arts and Trades; which, under several pretences, they rendered almost inaccessible to the Protestants, by the difficulties of arriving to the Mastership of them; and by the excessive expenses they must be apt [*liable to*], to be received therein: there being no candidate but was forced, for this purpose, to maintain Law Suits; under the weight of which they, for the most part, fell, not being able to hold them out.

But this not being sufficient; by a Declaration in 1669, they were reduced to one-third in the towns where the Protestants were more in number than the other inhabitants: and they were forbidden to receive any therein, till this diminution was made; which at one stroke excluded all the pretenders [*applicants*].

Some time after, they absolutely drove all the Reformists from the Consulships and all other Municipal Officers of the Cities: which was, in effect, the depriving them of the knowledge of their proper Affairs and Interests; to invest wholly the Catholics with them.

In 1680, the King issued out an Order which deprived them in general of all kinds of Offices and Employs, from the greatest to the smallest. They were made incapable so much as to exercise any Employ in the Custom-houses, Guard, Treasury, or Post Offices; to be Messengers, Coachmen, or Waggoners, or anything of this nature.

In the year 1681, by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors, and Sergeants, making profession of the Reformed Religion, were rendered incapable, throughout the Kingdom.

A year after, all Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion were ordered to discharge their Officers and Servants of the said Religion: and not to make use of them in any case: without any other reason than that of their Religion.

In 1683, all Officers belonging to the King's Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood, were also rendered incapable of holding their places. The Councillors and other Officers of Aids, and Chambers of Accounts; and those of the Seneschalship, Bailiwicks, and Royalties; Admiralty, Provostships, and Marshalls' Courts, Treasury, Excise, and others who belonged to the Toll Offices, and such like businesses, were ordered to leave their places, in favour of the Catholics.

In 1684, all Secretaries belonging to the King and Great Officers of France, as well Titulary as Honorary ones, and their Widows, were deprived, by a Revocation of all their Privileges, of what nature soever they were.

They also deprived all those that had purchased any Privileges for the exercise of any Professions: as Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Vintners; and all others, without exception.

Nay, they proceeded to this excess, That they would not suffer any Midwives of the Reformed Religion to do their Office: and expressly ordained, for the future, that our Wives should receive no assistance in that condition but from Roman Catholics.

It is not to be expressed how many particular persons and families they reduced everywhere, by these strange and unheard of methods, to ruin and misery.

But because there were yet many which could sustain themselves; other Methods of Oppression must be invented. To this end, they issued out an Edict from the Council, by

J. Claude. 1686. The Huguenots are greatly over-taxed.

which the New Converts, as they call them, were discharged from any payments of their debts for three years. This, for the most part, fell on the Reformists: who having had a more particular tie of Interest and Affairs with these pretended Converts, because of their communion of Religion, were reckoned amongst their chief creditors. By this Order, they had found the secret to recompense those that changed, at the charge of those who continued firm. And this they did likewise by another way: for they discharged the Converts of all the debts which those of the Religion had contracted [with them] in common; which, by consequence, fell on the rest.

Add to this, the Prohibition to sell or alienate their estates on any pretence whatever; the King annulling and breaking all Contracts and other Acts relating to that matter, if it did not appear that, after these Acts, they had stayed in the Kingdom a whole year: so that the last remedy of helping themselves with their estates in extreme necessity, was taken from them.

They deprived them likewise of another, which seemed the only one remaining: which was, to seek their bread elsewhere, by retiring into other countries, there to get their living by labour; since this was not permitted to them in France. By repeated Edicts, the King forbade them to leave his Kingdom, on severe penalties: which drove them to the last despair; since they saw themselves reduced to the horrible necessity of dying with hunger in their own country; without daring to go to live elsewhere.

But the cruelty of their enemies stopped not here: for there yet remained some gleanings in the Provinces; though very few, and as thin as those in PHAROAH'S dream. The Intendants in their districts had orders to load the Reformed with taxes: which they did, either by laying upon them the tax of the New Catholics, who were discharged thereof in favour of their conversion; or by laying exorbitant taxes, which they called, Duties: that is to say, he who in the ordinary Roll was assessed at 40, or 50, Livres [£4, or £5], was charged, by this Imposition, at 700 or 800 [£70, or £80]. Thus had they nothing more left; for all was a prey to the rigour of the Intendants. They raised their taxes by the effectual Quartering of Dragoons; or by Imprisonment, from whence they were not freed until they had paid the utmost farthing.

THESE WERE THE Two first Engines or Machines which the Clergy made use of against us: to which they added a Third, which we have termed, The Infractions of the Edict of Nantes, under pretence of Explications.

Those who would know their number and quality, need only read the books written and published on this subject, as well by the Jesuit, MEYNIER, an Author famous for his Illusions, as by one [PIERRE] BERNARD, an Officer in the Presidential Court of Beziers in Languedoc. There you will find all the Turns which the meanest and most unworthy Sophistry could invent to elude the clearest texts of the Edict; and to corrupt the sincerity thereof.

But because we do here give you only a Brief Account of our Troubles; we will content ourselves with observing some of the principal, issuing from this fountain.

What was there, for example, more clear and unquestionable in the Edict than this, *viz.*, That it was given with an intention to maintain those of the Religion in all the rights that Nature and Civil Society give to men. Yet, in 1681, there came out an Edict that children might, at the age of seven years, abjure the Reformed Religion, and embrace the Catholic: under pretence that the Edict did not precisely mark that, at this age, they should continue at their parents' disposal. Who sees not that this was a mere trick; seeing that, on [the] one hand, the Edict forbade to take the children from their parents by force, or fair means; and, on the other hand, the Edict supposed and confirmed all the Natural Rights, of which, without controversy, this is one of the most inviolable.

Was there ever a more manifest Infraction of the Edict than that which forbade those of the Protestant Religion who had passed over to the Roman, to return to that which they had left: under pretence that the Edict did not formally give them, in express terms, this liberty? For when the Edict permits, generally, all the King's subjects, Liberty of Conscience; and forbids the perplexing and

troubling them, and offering anything contrary to this Liberty: who sees not that this Exception touching the pretended Relapsers, is so far from being an Explication of the Edict, that it is a notable Violation of it.

Whereunto we may add, The charge given to the Roman Catholics not to change their Religion, and embrace the Reformed. For when the Edict gives Liberty of Conscience, it does it, in proper terms, for *all* those who *are*, and *shall be*, of the said Religion. Yet, if we believe the Clergy, this was not HENRY the Great's meaning: intending only to grant it to those who made Profession of it at the time of the making his Edict.

That of Nantes gave also to the Reformed the privilege of keeping 'small, or little, Schools' in all places where they had the Exercise of their Religion: and by this term of 'small, or little, Schools' according to the common explication, those were always understood, where one might teach Latin and Humanity. This is the sense which has ever been given, in all the Kingdom, to this expression; [and] which is still given, when it concerns the Roman Catholics. Yet, by a new Interpretation, this permission was restrained to the bare liberty of teaching to read and write; as if the Reformists were unworthy to learn any more: and this, on purpose to tire out the parents; and to drive them to this extremity, either not to know what to do with their children, or to be forced to send them to the Roman Catholics for education.

The Edict gave them the liberty, in all places where they had Churches, to instruct publicly their children and others in what concerns Religion: which visibly established the right of teaching them Theology; seeing their Theology is nothing else but this Religion.

And as to Colleges, wherein they might be instructed in Liberal Sciences, the Edict promised Letters Patents in good form. Yet it was supposed that the Edict gave no right to the Reformed to instruct them in Theology; nor to have Colleges: and, on this supposition, Three Academies were condemned—all that remained. That of Sedan, although grounded on a particular Edict, was suppressed as the rest; and even before them.

BUT WE MUST go further; and seeing we have undertaken to shew, in this Abridgement, the principal things they have done to exercise our patience, before they came to the utmost Fury: we are not to pass over the New Orders, or New Laws; which were, to us, as so many New Inventions to torment us.

The first of these Orders which appeared, was touching the manner of Burials, and of interring the dead. The number of attendants was reduced to Thirty persons in those places where the Exercise of our Religion was actually established; and to Ten, where it was not.

Orders were also issued out to hinder the communication of Provinces with one another, by Circulatory Letters or otherwise; though about matters of alms, and disposal of charity.

Prohibitions were likewise made of holding of Colloquies, in the interval of Synods; excepting in two cases: The providing for Churches destitute by the death of their Ministers; and The Correction of some Scandals.

They likewise took away from those places allowed by the Edict, what they called, 'Exercises de Fief,' all the marks of the Temples; as the Bell, the Pulpit, and other things of this nature.

They were likewise forbidden to receive [*allow*] their Ministers in Synods to have any deciding voice there; or to note them in the Catalogue of those that belonged to [the] Churches.

Others forbade the singing of Psalms in private houses: as also some that commanded them to cease singing, even in the Temples; when the Sacrament passed by, or at the time of any Procession.

Others were made to hinder Marriages at such times as were forbidden by the Romish Church.

Others forbade Ministers to preach anywhere, except in the place of their usual residence.

Others forbade their settling in places, unless sent by the Synods; though the Consistories had called them thither, according to their usual forms.

Others were made to hinder the Synods from sending to any Churches more Ministers than were there in the preceding Synod.

Others, to hinder those that were designed for the Ministry from being educated in foreign Universities.

Others banished all foreign Ministers; though they had been ordained in the Kingdom, and [had] spent there the greatest part of their lives.

Others forbade Ministers, or Candidates for the Ministry, to reside in places where Preaching was forbidden; or nearer than six miles of them.

Others forbade the people to assemble in the Temples under pretence of Praying, Reading, or Singing of Psalms; except in the presence of a Minister, placed there by the Synod.

One ridiculous one was made to take away all the backs of the seats in the Churches; and [to] reduce them all to an exact uniformity.

Another, to hinder the Churches that were a little more rich from assisting the weaker; for the maintenance of their Ministers, and other necessities.

Another, to oblige parents to give their children who change their Religion, great pensions.

Another, to forbid marriages between parties of different Religions; even in the case of scandalous cohabitation.

Another, to prohibit those of the Religion, from that time, to entertain in their houses any domestics or servants that were Roman Catholics.

Another, which made them incapable of being Tutors or Guardians: and consequently put all Minors, whose fathers died in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, under the power and education of Roman Catholics.

Another, forbidding Ministers and Elders to hinder any of their Flock, either directly or indirectly, from embracing the Roman Religion; or to dissuade them from it.

Another, forbidding Jews and Mohamedans to embrace the Reformed Religion; and the Ministers either to instruct [them], or receive them into it.

Another, subjecting Synods to receive such Roman Catholic Commissaries as should be sent them from the

King; with an express Order to do nothing but in his presence.

Another forbidding the Consistories to assemble oftener than once in fifteen days; and in presence of a Catholic Commissary.

Another, forbidding Consistories to assist, on pretence of charity, the poor sick persons of their Religion: and ordaining that the sick should be carried into their [*the Roman Catholic*] Hospitals; strictly forbidding any man to entertain them in his house.

Another, confiscating, in favour of the Hospitals, all the lands, rents, and other profits of what nature soever, which might have appertained to a condemned Church.

Another, forbidding Ministers to come nearer than three leagues to the place where the Privileges of Preaching were in question or debate.

Another, confiscated to the Hospitals all the revenues and rents set apart for the maintenance of the poor; even in such Churches as were yet standing.

Another, subjecting sick and dying persons to the necessity of receiving visits, sometimes from Judges, Commissaries, or Church Wardens; sometimes from Curates, Monks, Missionaries, or other Ecclesiastics; to induce them to change their Religion, or [to] require of them express Declarations concerning it.

Another, forbidding parents to send their children, before sixteen years of age, to travel in foreign countries, on any pretence whatever.

Another, prohibiting Lords or Gentlemen to continue the Exercise of Religion in their houses: unless they had first produced their Titles before the Commissaries; and had obtained from them a License to have Preaching.

Another, which restrained the right of entertaining a Minister [*maintaining a Chaplain*] to those only who were in possession of their lands, ever since the Edict of Nantes, in a direct or collateral line.

Another, which forbade Churches, called 'Bailliage,' to receive into their Temples any of another Bailiwick.

Another, which enjoined Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, to advertise the Curates, or Magistrates, of the condition of sick Protestants; that the Magistrates, or Curates, might visit them.

But amongst all these New Laws, those which have most

served the Design and Intention of the Clergy have been, on [the] one hand, the Prohibition of receiving into their Temples any of those who had changed their Religion, or their children; or any Roman Catholic of what age, sex, or condition, soever: under pain of forfeiting their Churches; and the Ministers doing Public Penance, with banishment, and the confiscation of their estates—and, on the other side, the setting up, in all Temples, [of] a particular bench for the Catholics to sit on. For, by this means, as soon as anyone resolved to change his Religion, they needed only to make him do it in private; and to find him, the next morning, in the Temple, to be observed by the Catholics, who were in their seat. Immediately, Informations were made; and afterwards Condemnations, in all the rigour of the law.

The Roman Catholics needed only to enter into the Temple, under pretence that they had a place there; and then they slipped in amongst the crowd: and immediately *this* was a contravention to the Declaration, and an unavoidable Condemnation. It is, by this means, they have destroyed an infinite number of Temples and Churches; and put into irons a great number of innocent Ministers: for villains and false witnesses were not wanting on this occasion.

ALL THESE PROCEEDINGS were so violent, that they must needs make a strong impression in the Reformists' minds, whereunto these things tended. And, in effect, there were many of them that bethought themselves of their safety, by leaving the Kingdom. Some transported themselves into one Kingdom, and some into another; according as their inclinations led them.

But this was what the Court never intended, for more than one reason; and therefore, to hinder them, they renewed from time to time the Decree which we have mentioned, which strictly prohibited, under the most severe penalties, any to depart the Kingdom without leave: and to this end, they strictly guarded all Passages [*outlets*] on the frontiers.

But these precautions did not answer their expectations; and it were better to blind the people by hopes of abating this rigorous usage at home: and to this end, in 1669, the King revoked several violent Decrees; which produced the effect expected. For though the judicious saw well enough that this moderation sprang not from a good principle; and that, in the sequel, the same Decrees would be put in execution: yet the most part imagined they would still confine themselves within some bounds, in our regard; and that they would not pass to a total destruction.

We have often drawn the same conclusions from the several Verbal Declarations, which came, many times, from the King's own mouth. That he pretended not to indulge us: but he would do us perfect justice; and let us enjoy the benefits of the Edicts in their whole extent. That he would be very glad to see all his subjects reunited to the Catholic Religion; and would, for the effecting this, contribute all his power: but there should be no blood shed, during his reign, on this account; nor any violence exercised. These precise and reiterated Declarations gave us hopes that the King would not forget them; and especially [that], in essential

matters, he would let us enjoy the effects of his bounty and equity.

It was the more expected, by a Letter [of September 6 1666,] he wrote to the Elector of Brandenburg; copies of which, the Ministers of State took care to disperse throughout the whole Kingdom. His Majesty assured him, That he was well satisfied with the behaviour of his Protestant subjects: from whence we drew this natural conclusion, that he intended not then to destroy us.

To which we may add, The management used sometimes in the Council; where Churches were conserved [*preserved*], at the same time when others were ordered to be demolished: to make the World believe, they observed measures of Justice; and that those which they condemned, were not grounded on good Titles.

Sometimes they softened several too rigorous Decrees; other times they seemed not to approve of the violences offered by the Intendants and Magistrates; even to giving Orders to moderate them. In this manner did they hinder the execution of a Decree made in the Parliament of Rouen; which enjoined those of the Reformed Religion to fall on their knees, when they met the Sacrament.

Thus did they stop the prosecutions of a puisne Judge of Charenton; who ordered us to strike out of our Liturgy a Prayer which was composed for the Faithful, that groaned under the tyranny of Antichrist.

It is thus also, that they did not extremely favour another Persecution, which began to become general in the Kingdom, against the Ministers; under pretence of obliging them to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein other clauses were inserted, [that were] contrary to what the Ministers owe to their Charges [*Flocks*] and Religion.

It was thus also, they suspended the execution of some Edicts which they themselves had procured, as well to tax the Ministers, as to oblige them to reside precisely in the place where they exercised their Ministry.

With the same Design, the Syndics of the Clergy had the art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom to be at rest for many years, without disturbance in their Assemblies: whilst they, in the meantime, desolated all those in the country.

They suspended also the condemnation of the Universities; and reserved them for the last.

It was also, in this view, that, at Court, they first seemed unable to believe, and at last not able to approve of, the excesses which one, DE MARILLAC, an Intendant of Poitou, committed in that Province. A man poor and cruel, more fit to prey on the highways than to be an Intendant of a Province: though, indeed, they had a Clause expressly to make these Expeditions.

But, amongst all these Illusions [*Deceptions, Juggleries*], there are none more remarkable than Five or Six; which [it] will not be improper here to take notice of.

The First was, That, at the very time when, at the Court, they issued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, we have spoken of herebefore; and which they caused to be put in execution with the greatest rigour: at the same time that they interdicted their Churches, demolished their Temples, deprived particular persons of their Offices and Employments, reduced people to Poverty and Hunger, imprisoned them, loaded them with fines, banished them, and (in a word) ravaged almost all: the Intendants, Governors, Magistrates, and other Officers, in Paris, and over all the Kingdom, coolly and gravely gave out, The King had not the least intention to touch the Edict of Nantes; but would most religiously observe it.

The Second was, That in the same Edict which the King published to forbid Roman Catholics to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the year 1682 (that is to say, at a time when they had already greatly advanced the work of our destruction), they caused a formal Clause to be inserted in these terms, 'That he confirmed the Edict of Nantes, as much as it was, or should be, needful.'

The Third, That in the Circular Letters which the King wrote to the Bishops and Intendants, to oblige them to signify the 'Pastoral Advertisement' of the Clergy [, July 1 1682,] to our Consistories, he tells them, in express terms, 'That his intention was not that they should do anything that might attempt upon what had been granted to those of the Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations made in their favour.'

The Fourth, That, by an express Declaration, published about the latter end of the year 1684, the King ordained, That Ministers should not remain in the same Church above the space of three years; nor return to the first,

within the space of twelve; and that they should be thus translated from Church to Church at least twenty leagues distant from each other. Supposing, by a manifest consequence, that his Design was yet to permit the Exercise of Religion to the Ministers in the Kingdom for Twelve years at least: though indeed they, at that moment, designed the Revocation of the Edict; and had resolved [on] it in the Council.

The Fifth consists of a Request presented to the King by the Assembly of the Clergy, at the same time that they were drawing up an Edict to revoke that of Nantes, and [had] put it into the hands of the Procureur General to frame it: and, in the Decree which was granted on this Request, the Clergy complained of the misrepresentations which the Ministers were wont to make of the Roman Church, to which they attributed doctrines which they do not hold; and [they] beseech His Majesty to provide against it: and also expressly declared, That they did not yet desire the Revocation of the Edict. Upon which, the King, by his Decree, expressly forbade the Ministers to speak, either good or hurt, directly or indirectly, of the Church of Rome in their Sermons: supposing, as every one might see, that it was his intention still to let them preach.

Were ever such Illusions [*Juggleries*] known! But was there ever any greater than this, which they put in the very Edict we speak of? The King, after having cancelled and annulled the Edict of Nantes and all that depended thereon; after having interdicted for ever all public Religious Exercises; and also for ever banished all the Ministers from his Kingdom: he expressly declares,

That his Will is, that his other subjects, who are not willing to change their Religion, may remain where they are in all liberty, enjoy their estates, and live with the same freedom as heretofore; without any molestation on pretence of their Religion, till it shall please GOD to enlighten and convert them.

These were [the] Amusements [*Deceptions*] and snares to entrap them, as it has since appeared: and as it still appears every day, by the horrible usages they suffer; of which, we shall speak in what follows.

BUT WE SHALL, first, mention a Preparatory Machine [*method*], which the Persecutors have not failed to employ, to effect their Design; and which we have reckoned to be the Sixth in order.

It consists in disposing insensibly the people by degrees to desire our destruction; to approve of it, when done; and to diminish in their mind the horror, which naturally they must have, at the cruelties and injustices of our Persecutors' contrivances.

For this purpose, several means have been used; and the commonest have been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other Controversial Preachers, with which the Kingdom had been, for some years, stocked, under the title of 'Royal Missions.' They were fitting youths, chosen for this purpose, who had such an education given them, which was so far from making them moderate, as rather inflamed them: so that it is easy to comprehend what Actors they were, when they not only found themselves upheld; but saw themselves moreover set on, and had express orders to inspire their hearers with choler [*anger*]. And so well did they acquit themselves herein, that it was not their fault if Popular Commotions have not followed thereon in great Cities; yea, in Paris itself: had not the prudence of the Magistrates hindered them.

To the Preachers, we must join the Confessors and Directors of Men's Consciences, the Monks, the Curates; and, in general, all Ecclesiastics, from the highest to the lowest. For they, being not ignorant of the Court's Intention in this matter, every one strove to shew most zeal, and most aversion to the Reformed Religion: because every one found his Interest lay therein; this being the only way to raise and establish his fortune [*career*].

In this Design of animating the people; there passed few days wherein the streets did not ring, as well with the publication of Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations, against the Protestants; as also with Satyrical and Seditious Libels, of which the people in the towns of France are very greedy.

But these things served only for the meaner sort of people; and the Persecutors had the mortification to see this Design disapproved by all those who were a degree above the mobile [*mob*].

Wherefore they employed the pens of some of their Authors who had acquired any reputation in the World; and, amongst others, that of [ESPRIT FLECHIER, Bishop of NIMES,] the Author of the 'History of THEODOSIUS the Great'; and that of Monsieur [LOUIS] MAIMBOURG, heretofore a Jesuit. He published his 'History of Calvinism': of which he has since had the leisure to repent, by the smart and pertinent Answers which have been given him.

Their example has been followed by several others: and Monsieur [ANTOINE] ARNAULD (who will always make one in these matters) would not deny himself the satisfaction of venting his choler; and, at the same time, endeavour to recover the favour he has lost at Court. But although his 'Apology for the Catholics' was a Work as full of fire and passion as the Bigots themselves could wish; yet it was not agreeable, because his person was not. He was so ill gratified for it, that he complained thereof to the Archbishop of RHEIMS in a Letter; the copies whereof were dispersed all over Paris. Amongst other things, he exaggerated his misfortune; and compared himself with another who, for much less services, received 20,000 Livres [=£2,000], as a reward from the King. This more and more shewed the character of the person. However they needed him not: not wanting violent Writers.

Amongst whom, we must not forget one Monsieur SOULIER, formerly, as they say, a Tailor, and at present [the] Author of the 'History of the Edicts of the Pacification'; nor Monsieur [PIERRE] NICOLE, once a great Jansenist, and now a proselyte of the Archbishop of Paris, Author of the book, entitled, 'Protestants convinced of Schism': nor the Author of the 'Journal des Savants,' who, in his ordinary Gazettes, highly affirms, That the Catholic Faith must be planted by Fire and Sword: alleging for the proof thereof, a King of Norway who converted the Nobles of his country, by threatening them, 'to slay their children before their eyes; if they would not consent to have them baptized, and be baptized themselves.' [See the Number for 16 April 1685.]

For a long time, we have seen, in Paris and elsewhere,

nothing but such sort of Writings: to such a height has Passion come.

Whilst all these things which we have here observed were done in France; they, by great steps, advanced to their End.

It is not to be imagined that the Reformed neglected their common Interests; or [that they] did not all that respected a just and lawful defence. They frequently sent, from the furthest Provinces, their Deputies to the Court. They maintained their rights before the Council. Thither they brought their complaints from all parts. They employed their Deputy General to solicit their Interests: as well with the Judges and Ministers of State as with the King himself. Sometimes also they presented General Addresses; in which they exposed their grievances, with all the humility and deference that Subjects owe [to] their Sovereigns. But they were so far from being heard, that their Troubles were still increased; and their second condition became worse than the first. The last Petition presented to the King himself, by the Deputy General, in March 1685, was expressed in terms most submissive, and most capable of moving pity: as every one may judge; [it] having been since printed. Yet it produced no other fruit but the hastening of what they had long resolved [on], namely, to use open force to accomplish our ruin.

THIS WAS EFFECTUALLY done some months after [, in 1685]; and executed in a manner so terrible and violent, that, as we said in the beginning, there are few in Europe, how distant soever from the notice of the common accidents [*incidents*] of the World, who have not heard the report of it. But it is certain [that] the circumstances are not known to all: and therefore we shall give an Account of them in few words; if it be but to stop the mouth of their Impudence, who published abroad, That no violences have been offered in France; and the Conversions there made, were with free consent.

At first, they took this measure. To quarter soldiers in all the Provinces, almost at the same time; and chiefly Dragoons, which are the most resolute troops of the Kingdom. Terror and Dread marched before them: and, as it were by consent, all France was filled with this news, That the King would no longer suffer any Huguenots in his Kingdom: and that they must resolve to change their Religion; nothing being able to keep them from it.

They began with Bearn; where the Dragoons did their first executions. These were followed, soon after, in High and Low Guienne, Saintonge, Aunis, Poitou, High Languedoc, Vivarais, and Dauphigny. After which, they came to Lyonais, Cevennes, Low Languedoe, Provence, Vallées, and the country of Gex. Afterwards, they fell on the rest of the Kingdom, Normandy, Burgundy, Nivernais, and Berry, the Countries of Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Brittany, Champagne, Picardy, and the Isle of France: not excluding Paris itself, which underwent the same fate.

The first thing the Intendants were ordered to do, was to summon the Cities and Commonalties. They assembled the inhabitants thereof who professed the Reformed Religion; and there told them, 'It was the King's Pleasure that they should, without delay, become Catholics: and if they would not do it freely, they would make them do it by force!'

The poor people, surprised with such a Proposal, answered, They were ready to sacrifice their estates and lives to the King: but, their Consciences being GOD's, they could not in that manner dispose of them.

There needed no more to make them immediately bring the Dragoons; which were not far off. The troops immediately seized on the gates and avenues of the Cities. They placed Guards in all the Passages [*thoroughfares*]: and often came, with their swords in their hands, crying, 'Kill! Kill! or else be Catholics!'

They were quartered on the Reformists at discretion; with a strict charge that none should depart out of their houses, nor conceal any of their goods or effects, under great penalties; even on the Catholics that should receive, or assist, them in any manner.

The first days were spent in consuming all the provisions the house afforded; and taking from them whatever they could see, money, rings, jewels; and, in general, whatsoever was of value.

After this, they pillaged the family; and invited not only the Catholics of the place, but also those of the neighbouring Cities and towns, to come and buy the goods, and other things which would yield money.

Afterwards, they fell on their persons: and there is no wickedness or horror which they did not put in practice, to force them to change their Religion. Amidst a thousand hideous cries, and a thousand blasphemies; they hung men or women, by the hair or feet, on the roofs of the chamber, or [the] chimney hooks; and smoked them with wisps of wet hay, till they were no longer able to bear it: and when they had taken them down, if they would not sign, they hung them up immediately again.

They threw them on great fires, kindled on purpose; and pulled them not out, till they were half roasted.

They tied ropes under their arms; and plunged them to and again into wells: from whence they would not take them, till they had promised to change their Religion.

They tied them, as they do criminals put to the Question [*the torture*]; and, in this posture, with a funnel filled with wine, poured it down their throats till, the fumes of it depriving them of their reason, they made them say, they would consent to be Catholics.

They stripped them naked; and, after having offered

them a thousand infamous indignities, they stuck them with pins from the top to the bottom.

They cut them with pen-knives: and sometimes with red-hot pincers took them by the nose, and dragged them about their rooms till they promised to become Catholics; or that the cries of these poor wretches (that, in this condition, called on GOD for their assistance) constrained them to let them go.

They beat them with staves; and dragged them, all bruised, to the Churches: where their bare forced presence was accounted for an Abjuration.

They held them from sleeping seven or eight days; relieving one another to watch them day and night, and keep them waking.

They threw buckets of water on their faces; and tormented them a thousand ways: holding over their heads kettles turned downwards; whereon they made a continual noise, till these poor creatures had even lost their senses.

If they found any sick, either men or women, that kept their beds, distempered with fevers or other diseases; they had the cruelty to bring twelve drums, sounding an Alarm, for whole weeks together without intermission, till they had promised they would change.

They plucked off the nails from the hands and toes of others; which could not be endured without intolerable pain.

They burnt the feet of others.

They blew up men and women with bellows; even till they were ready to burst.

If, after these horrid usages, there were yet any that refused to turn, they imprisoned them; and for this, chose Dungeons dark and noisome, in which they exercised on them all sorts of inhumanity. In the meantime, they demolished their houses, desolated their hereditary lands, cut down their woods, and seized their wives and children to imprison them in Nunneries. When the soldiers had devoured and consumed all in a house, the farmers of their lands furnished them with subsistence: and to reimburse them, they sold, by authority of Justice, the 'fonds' [*land*] of their hosts, and put them [*the farmers*] in possession thereof.

If some, to secure their Consciences, and to escape the tyranny of these furious men, endeavoured to save

themselves by flight; they were pursued, and hunted in the fields and woods, and were shot at like wild beasts. The Provosts rode about the highways; and the Magistrates of places had orders to stop them, without exception. They brought them back to the places from whence they fled; using them like Prisoners of War.

But we must not fancy that this Storm fell only on the common sort. Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Quality were not exempted from it. They had soldiers quartered on them in the same manner, and with the same fury, as the Citizens and Peasants had. They plundered their houses, wasted their goods, razed their Castles, cut down their woods; and their very persons were exposed to the insolence and barbarity of the Dragoons, no less than those of others. They spared neither Sex, Age, nor Quality. Wherever they found any unwillingness to obey the command of changing their Religion, they practised the same violences.

There were still remaining some Officers of Parliaments, which underwent the same fate; after having been first deprived of their Offices: and even the Military Officers, who were actually on Service, were ordered to quit their Posts and Quarters, and [to] repair immediately to their houses, there to suffer the like Storm; if, to avoid it, they would not become Catholics.

Many Gentlemen and other Persons of Quality, and many Ladies of a great age and ancient families, seeing all these outrages, hoped to find some retreat in Paris, or at the Court; not imagining the Dragoons would come to seek them so near the King's presence: but this hope was no less vain than all the rest. For immediately there was a Decree of Council [of October 15 1685], which commanded them to leave Paris in fifteen days; and to return without delay to their own houses: with a prohibition to all persons to entertain, or lodge, them in their houses.

Some, having attempted to present Addresses to the King, containing complaints of these cruel usages, humbly beseeching His Majesty to stop the course thereof, received no other answer than that of sending them to the Bastille.

BEFORE WE PROCEED any further, it will not be amiss to make some Remarks.

The First shall be that, almost everywhere, at the head of these Infernal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the Intendants also; the Bishops marched, every one in his diocese, with a troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiastics.

The Intendants gave such Orders as they thought most fitting to carry on Conversions; and restrain natural pity and compassion, if, at any time, it found a place in the hearts of the Dragoons, or their Commanders: which did not often happen.

And as for the Bishops, they were there to keep Open House; to receive Abjurations; and to have a general and severe inspection, that everything might pass there according to the Intentions of the Clergy.

The Second thing observable is, That when the Dragoons had made some yield, by all the horrors they had practised; they immediately changed their Quarters, and sent them to those who still persevered. This order was observed, in this manner, even to the end: insomuch that the last, that is to say, those who had shewed the greatest constancy, had, in fine [*the end*], quartered on them alone, *all* the Dragoons, which, at the beginning, were equally dispersed amongst all the inhabitants of the place; which was a load impossible to be sustained.

A Third Remark which we shall make is, That, in almost all the considerable Cities, they took care, before they sent troops thither, to gain, by means of the Intendants, or some other private way, a certain number of people, not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be seasonable; but also to assist them in perverting others. So that, when the Dragoons had sufficiently done their part, the Intendant, with the Bishop and the

Commander of the Forces, again assembled these miserable inhabitants already ruined, to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholics; adding thereto most terrible threats, that they might over-awe them: and then, the New Converts failed not to execute what they had promised; which they did with the more success, because the people did yet put some kind of confidence in them.

A Fourth Observation is, That when the Master of the house, thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obeyed and signed what they would; he was not freed from them, for all this, if his Wife, Children, and the meanest of his domestics, did not do the same thing: and when his Wife, or any of his Children, or family fled; they ceased not to torment them, till he had made them return, which oftentimes being impossible, the change of their Religion did not at all avail them.

The Fifth is, That when these poor wretches fancied their Consciences would be at rest by signing some form of an Equivocal Abjuration offered them; a little while after, these cruel men came to them again, and made them sign another, which plunged them into such depths as cast them into the utmost despair.

Nay, farther, they had the boldness to make them acknowledge, That they embraced the Roman Religion of their own accord; without having been induced thereunto by any violent means.

If, after this, they scrupled to go to Mass; if they did not communicate; if they did not tell their beads; if, by a sigh escaped from them, they signified any unwillingness: they had immediately a fine laid upon them; and they were forced to receive again their old guests.

In fine, for a Sixth Remark, As fast as the troops ravaged in this manner the Provinces, spreading terror and desolation in all parts; Orders were sent to all the frontier countries and seaport towns to guard well the Passages, and [to] stop all such who pretended to escape from France: so that there was no hope of these poor wretches saving themselves by flight. None were permitted to pass, if he brought not along with him a Certificate of his Bishop or Curate, that he was a Catholic. Others were put in prison;

and used like traitors against their country. All strange vessels lying in the ports were searched. The coasts, bridges, passages to rivers, and the highways, were strictly guarded, both night and day.

The neighbouring States were also required not to harbour any more fugitives: and to send back again such as they had already received. Attempts were also made to seize on, and carry away, some who had escaped into foreign countries.

WHILST ALL THIS was acting in the Kingdom, the Court were consulting to give the last stroke; which consisted in repealing the Edict of Nantes. Much time was spent in drawing up the Matter and Form of this new Edict.

Some would have the King detain all the Ministers; and force them, as they did the Laity, to change their Religion; or condemn them to perpetual imprisonment. They alleged for their reason, That if they did not do it, they would be as so many dangerous enemies against them in foreign nations.

Others, on the contrary, affirmed, That, as long as the Ministers continued in France, this their presence would encourage the people to abide in their Religion; whatsoever care might be taken to hinder them: and that, supposing they should change, they would be but as so many secret adversaries nourished in the bosom of the Church of Rome; and the more dangerous, on the account of their knowledge and experience in controversial matters.

This last reasoning prevailed. It was then resolved on to banish the Ministers; and to give them no more than fifteen days' time to depart the Kingdom.

As to what remained, the Edict was given to the Procureur General of the Parliament of Paris, to draw it up in such form as he should judge most fitting.

But, before the publishing of it, Two things were thought necessary to be done. The First, to oblige the Assembly of the Clergy separately to present to the King a Request concerning the matter above mentioned; in which also they told His Majesty that they desired not at present the repealing of the Edict of Nantes: and the Other, to suppress, in general, all kinds of books made by them of the Reformed Religion; and to issue out an Order for that purpose.

By the first of these things, the Clergy sought to shelter themselves from the reproaches which might be

J. Claude. 1686. All the Huguenot books suppressed.

cast on them as the Authors of so many miseries, injustices, and oppressions; which this Repeal would still occasion: and by the other, they pretended to make the Conversions much more easy, as they styled them, and to confirm those which had been already made; by taking from the people all Works which might instruct, fortify, and bring them back again.

IN FINE, THIS Revocative Edict of Nantes was signed and published on Thursday, being the 8th of October, in the year 1685, *N.S.*

It is said [that MICHEL LE TELLIER,] the Chancellor of France shewed an extreme joy in sealing it: but it lasted not long; this being the last thing he did. For as soon as he came home from Fontainebleau, he fell sick; and died within a few days [in October 1685]. It is certain that this man's policy, rather than his natural inclination, induced him, in his latter years, to become one of our Persecutors.

The Edict was registered in the Parliament of Paris; and immediately after in the others.

It contains a Preface, and Twelve Articles.

In the Preface, the King shews that HENRY the Great his grandfather, did not give the Edict, and LOUIS his father, did not confirm it by his other Edict of Nimes, but in the Design of endeavouring more effectually the reunion of their subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to the Catholic Church; and that this was also the Design which he had himself, at his first coming to the Crown. That, it is true, he had been hindered by the wars which he was forced to carry on against the enemies of his State: but that, at present, being at peace with all the Princes of Europe, he wholly gave himself to the making of this reunion. That GOD had given him the grace of accomplishing it: and seeing the greatest and best part of his subjects of the said Religion had embraced the Catholic one, the Edicts of Nantes and Nimes consequently became void and useless.

By the First Article, he suppresses and repeals them in all their extent; and ordains that all the Temples, which are found yet standing in his Kingdom, shall be immediately demolished.

By the Second, he forbids all sorts of Religious Assemblies of what kind soever.

The Third prohibits the Exercises of Religion to all

Lords and Gentlemen of any Quality; under corporal penalties, and confiscation of their estates.

The Fourth banishes from the Kingdom all the Ministers; and enjoins them to depart thence within fifteen days after the publication of this Edict, under the penalty of being sent to the Gallies.

In the Fifth and Sixth, he promises recompenses and advantages to the Ministers and their widows who should change their Religion.

In the Seventh and Eighth, he forbids the instructing of children in the Pretended Reformed Religion; and ordains that those that shall be born henceforward shall be baptized, and brought up, in the Catholic Religion; enjoining parents to send them to the Churches, under the penalty of being fined 500 Livres [- £50].

The Ninth gives four months' time to such persons as have departed already out of the Kingdom to return: otherwise their goods and estates to be confiscated.

The Tenth, with repeated Prohibitions, forbids all his subjects of the said Religion to depart out of his realm, they, their Wives and children; or to convey away their effects: under pain of the Gallies for the men; and confiscation of body and goods for the women.

The Eleventh confirms the Declarations heretofore made against those that relapse.

The Twelfth declares, That as to the rest of his subjects of the said Religion, they may, till GOD enlightens them, remain in the Cities of his Kingdom, countries and lands of his obedience, there to continue their commerce, and enjoy these estates; without trouble or molestation upon pretence of the said Religion: on condition that they have no Assemblies, under pretext of Praying, or Exercising any Religious Worship whatever.

In order to put this Edict in execution; the very same day that it was registered and published at Paris: they began to demolish the Church of Charenton. The eldest Minister thereof [*who was Jean Claude himself*] was commanded to leave Paris within twenty-four hours; and immediately to depart the Kingdom. For this end, they put him into the hands of one of the King's Footmen; with orders not to leave him, till he was out of his dominions.

His colleagues were [a] little better treated. They gave them forty-eight hours to quit Paris; and then left them upon their parole.

The rest of the Ministers were allowed fifteen days: but it can hardly be believed to what vexations and cruelties they were all exposed.

First of all, they neither permitted them to dispose of their estates, nor to carry away any of their moveables or effects. Nay, they disputed them their books and private papers, on pretence that they must justify [*prove*] their books and papers did not belong to the Consistories wherein they served: which was a thing impossible, since there were no Consistories that then remained.

Besides, they would not give them leave to take along with them, either Father or Mother, or Brother or Sister, or any of their kindred: though there were many of them infirm, decayed, and poor; which could not subsist but by their means.

They went so far as even to deny them their own children: if they were above seven years old. Nay, some they took from them that were under that age; and even such as yet hanged upon their mothers' breasts. They refused them Nurses for their new-born Infants, [to] which the mothers could not give suck.

In some frontier places, they stopped and imprisoned them, upon divers ridiculous pretences. They must immediately prove that they were really the same persons which their Certificates mentioned. They were to know immediately whether there were no Criminal Process or Informations against them. They must presently justify that they carried away nothing that belonged to their Flocks.

Sometimes, after they had thus detained and amused [*juggled*] them; they were told that the Fifteen Days of the Edict were expired, and that they should not have liberty to retire: but must go to the Gallies.

There is no kind of deceit and injustice which they did not think of, to involve them in troubles.

As to the rest, whom the force of Persecution and hard usage constrained to leave their houses and estates, and to fly the Kingdom; it is not to be imagined what dangers they exposed them to! Never were Orders more severe or

more strict, than those that were given against them. They doubled the Guards in Posts, Cities, highways, and fords. They covered the country with Soldiers. They armed even the peasants to stop those that passed; or to kill them. They forbade all the Officers of the Customs to suffer any goods, moveables, merchandize, or other effects, to pass. In a word, they forgot nothing that could hinder the flight of the Persecuted; even to the interrupting almost [of] all commerce with neighbouring nations.

By this means, they quickly filled all the Prisons in the Kingdom. For the fear of the Dragoons; the horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their children taken away; and of living for the future in a land where there was neither Justice nor Humanity for them: obliged every one of them to think of an escape; and to abandon all, to save their persons.

All these poor Prisoners have been since treated with unheard-of rigours, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with heavy chains, almost starved with hunger, and deprived of all converse [*conversation*] but that of their Persecutors. They put many into Monasteries, where they experience none of the least cruelties. Some there are so happy as to die in the midst of their torments. Others have, at last, sunk under the weight of the Temptation: and some, by the extraordinary assistance of GOD's grace, do still sustain it with an heroic courage.

These have been the consequences of this new Edict in this respect.

But who would not have believed that the Twelfth Article would [not] have sheltered the rest of the Reformed, that had a mind still to stay in the Kingdom: since this Article expressly assures them, That they might live there, continue their trade, and enjoy their estates; without being troubled or molested, upon pretence of their Religion.

Yet see what they have since done; and yet do, to these poor wretches. They have not recalled the Dragoons and other Soldiers, which they despatched into the Provinces before the Edict. On the contrary, they, to this day, commit, with greater fury, the same inhumanities which we have before represented.

Besides this, they have marched them into Provinces where there were none before: as Normandy, Picardy,

Berry, Champagne, Nivernais, Orleans, Blésois, and the Isle of France. They do the same violence there, exert the same fury, as they did in other Provinces.

Paris itself, where, methinks, this Article of the Edict should have been best observed; because [it is] so near the King's presence, and more immediately under the government of the Court—Paris, I say, was no more spared than the rest of the Kingdom.

The very day that the Edict was published, without more delay, the Procureur General, and some other Magistrates, began to send for Heads of Families to come to their houses. There, they declared to them, That it was absolutely the King's Will that they should change their Religion. That they were no better than the rest of his subjects; and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of means, which he had ready, to compel them.

At the same time, they banished, by Letters under the Privy Seal, all the Elders of the Consistory; together with some others, in whom they found more of constancy and resolution: and to disperse them, chose such places as were most remote from Commerce; where they have since used them with a great deal of cruelty. Some complied: others are yet under sufferings.

The diligence of the Procureur General and the Magistrates not succeeding so fully as they wished, though threats and menaces were not wanting: Monsieur [(JEAN BAPTISTE) COLBERT, Marquis] DE SEIGNELAY, Secretary of State, would also try what influence he could have, within his Division of Paris. For this end, he got together about five, or six, score of Merchants and others into his house; and, after having shut the doors, forthwith presented them with the Form of an Abjuration, and commanded them, in the King's name, to sign it: declaring that they should not stir out of doors till they had obeyed. The Contents of this Form were, not only that they did renounce the Heresy of CALVIN, and enter into the Catholic Church; but also that they did this voluntarily, without being forced or compelled to it.

This was done in an imperious manner, and with an air of authority; yet there were some that dared to speak: but they were sharply answered, That they were not to

dispute it; but to obey! So that they all signed, before they went out.

To these methods, they added others more terrible: as Prisons, the actual seizing of their effects and papers, the taking away of their Children, the separation of Husbands and Wives; and, in fine, the Great Method, that is to say, Dragoons and Guards.

Those that most firmly stood out, they sent to the Bastille and to the Fort L'Evêque. They confined them to their own, or others', houses; where they lay concealed for fear of discovery. They plundered the houses of many others, not sparing their persons: just as they had done in other places.

Thus the Twelfth Article of the Edict, which promised some relaxation, and a Shadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuse [*juggle*] the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their escape; a snare to catch them with the more ease.

The Fury still kept its usual course; and was heated to such a degree that, not content with the desolations in the Kingdom, it entered even into Orange, a Sovereign Principality, where the King, of right, has no power; and taking Ministers away from thence by force, removed them into Prisons. Thither the Dragoons were sent, who committed all kinds of mischief: and, by force, constrained the inhabitants thereof, both men, women, and children, and the very Officers of the Prince [of Orange], to change their Religion. And this is the state of things in the year 1685: and this, the accomplishment of the dealing which the Clergy had shewed us, three years since, towards the end of their 'Pastoral Letter' [of July 1 1682], 'You must expect mischiefs more dreadful and intolerable than all those which, hitherto, your Revolts and Schisms have drawn down upon you!' And, truly, they have not been worse than their words.

There are some in the Kingdom who still continue firm; and their Persecutions are still continued to them.

There are invented, every day, new torments against those whom force has made to change their Religion, because they are still observed to sigh and groan under their hard servitude; their hearts detesting what their

mouths have professed, and their hands signed.

As to such that have escaped into foreign countries, who are at least 150,000 persons*; their estates are confiscated: this being all the hurt that can be done to them at present. I say, at present: for it is not to be questioned but our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties farther. But we must hope, in the compassions of GOD, that whatsoever intentions they may have of destroying the Protestant Religion in all places; he will not permit them to effect their Designs. The World will surely open its eyes; and this, which they now come from doing with a high hand, and a worse than barbarous Fury, will show, not only the Protestants, but the wise and circumspect Catholics, what they are to expect, both [the] one and the other, from such a sort of people.

* This was CLAUDE's estimate in the Spring of 1686. The total number of this great Huguenot Emigration has never yet been precisely ascer-

tained: but it must have reached to several Hundreds of Thousands of persons.—E.A.

IN EFFECT, HE that shall give himself the leisure to reflect on the Matters of Fact which we come now from relating, which are things certain, and acted in the face of the sun; he shall see, not only the Protestants suppressed: but the King's honour sullied; his countries damnified [*ruined*]; all the Princes of Europe interested [*concerned*]: and even the Pope himself, with his Church and Clergy, shamefully discredited.

For to begin with the King himself. What could be more contrary to his dignity, than to put him upon breaking his word; and persuading him, That he might, with a safe Conscience, violate, revoke, and annul, so solemn an Edict as that of Nantes?

To palliate in some sort the violence of this proceeding, they make him say, in this new Edict,

That the best and greatest part of the Reformed Religion has embraced the Catholic; and therefore the execution of the Edict of Nantes, and whatsoever else has been done in favour of the same Religion, remains void.

But is not this an elusion unworthy of His Majesty: seeing that if this 'best and greatest part of his subjects of the Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholic,' they have done it by force of Arms; and by the cruel and furious Oppression which his own troops have laid upon them.

Perhaps, one might thus speak, had his subjects changed their Religion of their own free will: although that, in this case too, the Privileges of the Edict continue for those that remain. But, after having forced them to change by the horrible inhumanities of his Dragoons, after having deprived them of the Liberty which the Edict gave them; to say coldly, That he only revokes the Edict, because it is now useless, is a raillery [*mockery*] unbefitting so great a Prince. For it is as much as if he said, That he was indeed obliged to continue to his Protestant Subjects all the Privileges due to them; but having himself overthrown them by a major

[*greater*] force, he finds himself, at present lawfully and fairly disengaged from this Obligation: which is just as if a father, who himself had cut his children's throats, should glory in the being henceforward freed from the care of nourishing and protecting them. Are other Kings wont thus to express themselves in their Edicts?

What they make him moreover say, to wit:

That HENRY the Great, his grandfather, gave only the Edict of NANTES to the Protestants, that he might the better effect their re-union to the Roman Church. That LOUIS XIII. also, his father, had the same Design, when he gave the Edict of Nimes: and that he himself had entered therein at his coming to the Crown—is but a pitiful *salvo*.

But suppose (seeing they are willing we should do so) the truth of this Discourse! and take we it simply, and according to the Letter, in the sense wherein they give it us: what can we conclude thence, but these following Propositions?

That HENRY the Great, and LOUIS XIII., gave only the Edicts to our fathers to deceive them; and with an intent to ruin them afterwards with the greater ease, under the mask of this Fraud.

That not being able to do this, being hindered by other affairs, they have committed this important Secret to His present Majesty; to the end that he should execute it, when he met with an opportunity.

That His present Majesty entering into the thought of this at his first coming to the Crown, he only confirmed the Edicts and Declarations of 1643 and 1652, with other advantageous Decrees to the Reformed Religion, but to impose on them the more finely, lay snares in their way; or, if you please, crown them, as they crowned of old the sacrifices.

That all that has been done against them, since the Peace of the Pyrenees [in 1660] till this time [1686], according to the Abridgement which we have made of it, has been only the execution of a Project: but of a Project far more ancient than we imagine; seeing we must date it from the Edict of Nantes, and ascend up to HENRY the Great.

In fine, That which has been till now, has been a great

mystery: but is not one at present; seeing the King, by his new Edict, discovers it to all the World, that he may be applauded for it.

Will it not be acknowledged that the enemies of France, who are willing to discredit the conduct of its Kings, and to render them odious to the World, have now a happy opportunity:

HENRY the Great gives his Edict to the Protestants with the greatest solemnity imaginable. He gives it them as a recompense of their services. He promises solemnly to observe it; and, as if this were not enough, he binds himself thereunto with an Oath. He executes it to the utmost of his power; and they peaceably enjoyed it to the end of his reign. Yet all this is but a mere Snare: for they are to be Dragooned at the proper time! But being himself surprised by death; he could not do it: but leaves it in charge to LOUIS XIII., his son.

LOUIS XIII. ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately, That he acknowledges the Edict of Nantes as perpetual and irrevocable, it needing not a new Confirmation; and that he would religiously observe every Article of it: and therefore sends Commissioners to see it actually executed. When he begins a war, he protests that he designs not at Religion: and, in effect, he permits the full Liberty of it in those very towns he takes by assault. He gives his Edict of Nimes, as the Edict of a triumphant Prince; yet declares therein that he understands that of Nantes should be inviolably kept: and shews himself to the last as good as his word. But this is only intended to lull the Protestants asleep; in expectation of a favourable occasion to destroy them!

LOUIS XIV., at his coming to the Crown, confirms the Edict; and declares, That he will maintain the Reformed in all their Privileges. He afterwards affirms, in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied with their services; and mentions his Design of making them to enjoy their rights. But this is but a mere amusement [*bequilement*], and an artifice to entrap them! the better to colour over the Project of ruining them at a convenient time.

What a character now of the Kings of France will this afford to its enemies, and foreign nations! and what confidence, do they think, will be henceforward put in their

Promises and Treaties! For if they deal thus with their own Subjects, if they caress them only to ruin them; what may Strangers expect from them?

Consider we a while, what they make the King say—That at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the Design which he now comes from executing. They would say, without doubt, from the time he actually took in hand the reins of Government [in 1661]: for he was too young before to enter personally on any Design of this nature. He entered thereon then precisely at the time when the Civil Wars were ended. But what does this mean, but that he undertook this Design, at the very time when the Protestants came from rendering him the most important service Subjects were ever capable of! They came from rendering him the highest testimonies of loyalty; when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him! They had vigorously opposed his enemies' progress; rejected the most advantageous offers; kept towns for him, yea, whole Provinces; received his Servants and Officers into their bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere; sacrificed their estates to him, their lives, their fortunes: and, in a word, done all with such a zeal as became faithful Subjects in so dangerous a conjuncture. And this is the time, when the King enters on the Design of destroying and extirpating them!

This so confirms the truth of what we said in the beginning [p. 94], that it puts it out of all question, That the Project of their Destruction was grounded on the services they had rendered to the King. Do Christian Ethics allow these most unchristian Policies? Is it not a strange thing, that *we* must be taught *this* important secret; and all Europe besides? For although the Protestants have done nothing on this occasion but their Duty; it could never be imagined [that] their Duty should be made their Crime; and [that] their Ruin should spring from whence should come their safety. GOD has brought Light out of Darkness; but the unchristian Politics of France, on the contrary, have brought Darkness out of Light.

However, they cannot deny but that, in this new Edict, the King is made to say, 'He has entered on the Design to destroy the Protestant Party, in the very time wherein they have signalized and distinguished themselves with

great success for the Interest of the Crown': which will furnish, perhaps, matter enough to thinking men for reflection, as well within as without the Kingdom; and will shew them what use is made of Services, and what recompense is to be expected for them.

But we shall say no more of the Expressions of the new Edict: but rather consider the Matter of it.

Was ever a worse and harder usage than that which we have suffered for the space of twenty years [1665-1685]; which have been employed in forming the late Tempest which has fallen upon us. It has been a continual Storm of Decrees, Edicts, Declarations, Orders, Condemnation of Churches, Desolation of Temples, Civil and Criminal Processes, Civil Imprisonment, Banishments, Penances, Pecuniary Mulcts, Privation of Offices and Employ, depriving Parents of their Children; and all those other Persecutions which we have already briefly summed up.

We were told, on [the] one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of Nantes; and he delivered himself, on several occasions, to that effect: and, on the other hand, we were made to suffer in our estates, our reputations, our persons, our families, our Religion, and our Consciences; and all, by unjust and indirect ways, by unheard-of inventions, by oppressions and public vexation, and sometimes by under-hand dealings—and all this, under the veil of the King's Authority; and because this was his Good Pleasure.

We know very well the Authority of Kings; and the respect and submission with which we should receive their Orders: and therefore have we [had], during all these unsupportable usages, a patience and an obedience so remarkable that it has been the admiration of the Catholics, our countrymen.

But it must be acknowledged that those who put His Majesty on dealing thus with us, or have used his Name and Authority for this, could not do him otherwise a greater dishonour than they have done.

For, after all, those Kings, who would have themselves esteemed for their Justice and Equity, govern not their subjects after this manner. They are not for putting all to an uncertainty! filling all places with lamentation and terror! They seek not their satisfaction in the tears and groans of

their innocent people! nor are they pleased with keeping their Subjects in a perpetual agitation! They love not to have their names mentioned with terror! nor meditate continual Designs of extirpating those who give constant and unquestionable proofs of their loyalty! much less to invent cruel Projects, which, like mines, in their time, shall destroy their own natural Subjects! for what else have been these sly and equivocal Declarations, Counter-Orders, and Revocative Edicts?

There are Three things very remarkable in this whole Affair:

The First is, That, as long as they have been only in the way, the true Authors of the Persecution have not concealed themselves, but the King, as much as they could. It is true the Decrees, Edicts, Declarations, and other things, went under the name of His Majesty; but at the request of the Agents and Factors for the Clergy: and whilst they were busied in these matters, the King declared openly his intention of maintaining the Edicts, and that it was Abuses which he designed to correct.

The Second is, That when they came to the last extremities, and to open force; then they have concealed themselves as much as they could, [and have] set forth the King at his full length. There was nothing heard but this kind of Discourses: 'The King will have it so! The King has taken it in hand! The King proceeds further than the Clergy desire!'

By these two means, they have had the address to be charged with the lesser parts of the Cruelties; and to lay the most violent and odious part at the King's door.

The Third thing which we should remark is, That the better to obtain their ends, they have made it their business to persuade the King that this work would crown him with Glory; which is a horrid abuse of his credulity, an abuse so much the greater by how much they would not have themselves thought to be the Authors of this Counsel; and when any particular person of them is asked, this day, 'What think ye of it?', there are few of them but condemn it.

In effect, what more false an Idea could they give to His Majesty of Glory, than to make it consist in surprising a poor people dispersed over all his Kingdom, and living

securely under his wings, and the remains of the Edict of Nantes: who could not imagine [that] there were any Intentions of depriving them of the Liberty of their Consciences; of surprising and overwhelming them, in an instant, with a numerous Army; to whose discretion they are delivered, and who tell them, 'That they must, either by fair means or foul, become Roman Catholics; this being the King's Will and Pleasure.

What a falser notion of Glory could they offer him, than the putting him in the place of GOD; making the Faith and Religion of men to depend upon his Authority, and that henceforward it must be said in his Kingdom, 'I do not believe, because I am persuaded of it; but I believe, because the King would have me do it!': which, to speak properly, is, That I believe nothing: and that I will be a Turk! or a Jew! or whatever the King pleases!

What falser Idea of Glory than to force from men's mouths, by violence and a long series of torments, a Profession which the heart abhors: and for which one sighs, night and day, crying continually to GOD for mercy!

What Glory is there in inventing new Ways of Persecutions, unknown to former Ages! which, indeed, do not bring death along with them: but *keep men alive to suffer*; that they may overcome their patience and constancy by cruelties, which are above human strength to undergo!

What Glory is there, in not contenting themselves to force those who remain in his Kingdom; but to forbid them to leave it: and keep them under a double servitude, *viz.* both of Soul and Body!

What Glory is there in keeping his Prisons full of innocent persons, who are charged with no other fault than serving GOD according to the best of their knowledge! and for this, to be exposed to the rage of the Dragoons! or condemned to the Gallies! and to execution on Body and Goods!

Will these Cruelties render His Majesty's name lovely in his History, to the Catholic, or Protestant, World?

But we should be very loath to exaggerate anything which may violate the respect due to so great a Prince: but we do not think it a failure in our duty, fairly to represent how far these refined Politicians have really interested [*involved*] his honour in the sad misfortunes wherein they

have plunged us; and how criminal they have, thereby, made themselves toward him. They have committed numberless misdemeanours against their country; of which they are members, and for which, a man would think they should have some consideration. Not to speak here of the great number of persons, of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, which they have cut off from it by their fierce tempers; although, perhaps, this loss be greater than they are willing to imagine; it is certain that France is a very populous country: but when these feverish fits shall be over, and they shall, in cold blood, consider what they have done, they will find these diminutions to be no matter of triumph!

For it is not possible that so many substantial people, so many entire families, who distinguish[ed] themselves in the Arts, in the Sciences, Civil and Military, can leave a Kingdom, without, one day, being missed! At present, whilst they rejoice in their spoils, possess themselves of their houses and estates, this loss is not felt. It is recompensed by booty: but it will not be always so!

Neither shall we insist here on that almost general interruption of traffic, which these most unchristian Persecutors have caused in the principal towns of the State; although this be no small matter. The Protestants made up a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without; and were therein so mixed [up] with the Catholics, that their affairs were in a manner inseparable. They dealt as it were in common, when these Oppressions came upon them: and what confusions have they not produced! How many industrious measures have they broken! How many honest designs have they not disappointed! How many manufactures ruined! How many Bankrupts made! and how many families reduced to beggary!

But this is what the Oppressors little trouble themselves about. They have their bread gained to their mouths. They live in wantonness and ease: and, whilst others die with hunger, their revenues are ascertained [*secured*] to them. But this hinders not the Body of the State to suffer, both in its honour and profit: and we may truly say, That Four Civil Wars could not have produced so much mischief, as time will shew to spring from this Persecution.

But we will leave the consequence of this Affair to time; and only say, That the Edict of Nantes, being a

Fundamental Law of the Kingdom; and an Agreement between two Parties by a reciprocal acceptance, under the peaceable reign of HENRY the Great, by the public faith, and by mutual oaths, as we have already seen: this must certainly be of ill example to the Interest of the State, That, after having made a thousand infractions of it, it must be, at length, revoked, cancelled, and annulled, at the motion of a Cabal [*clique*] who abuse their Interest; and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising and executing anything. After this Violation; what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in France! I speak not of particular men's affairs: but of General Establishments, Royal Companies, Courts of Justice, and all other ranks of men interested [*involved*] in Society; even the very Rights of the Crown, and Form of Government!

There are in the Kingdom a great many thinking men; I mean not your Poets and such like kind of Flatterers, who make Verses, Orations, Panegyrics, and Sermons too, for preferments and benefices: but I speak of solid and judicious persons, who see into the consequences of things, and know well how to judge of them. Shall we think, that these men see not what is too visible, that the State is pierced through and through, by the same blow given to the Protestants; and that such an open Revocation of the Edict leaves nothing firm or sacred.

It is to no purpose to allege distinctions in the matter, and to say, That the Pretended Reformed Religion was odious to the State; and therefore was thus undertaken. For, not to mention the dangerousness of the example, as to the general aversion to our Religion in the minds of Catholics, it is certain that (excepting the Faction of the Bigots; and what they call the Propagators of the Faith) neither the Commons, nor Great People, have any animosity against us; but, on the contrary, do bemoan our misfortunes.

Not to touch further on this, who knows not, what an easy matter it is to run down any Cause; or render it odious, or indifferent, in the minds of the people? There are never wanting reasons and pretences, in matters of this nature. One Party is set up against another; and that is called the State (right or wrong), which is the prevailing one: like as in Religion, not the best and honestest, but the powerfullest and boldest, part is termed the Church.

We must not judge of these things then from their Matter; but from their Form.

Now if ever there was, since the world stood, a matter authentic and irrevocable, it was the Edict of Nantes! To revoke or cancel it, is to set up one's self above our obligations to GOD as well as to Men! It is to declare openly that there are no longer any Ties or Promises in the World! and this is no more than the wise will easily comprehend; and I doubt not, but they have done it already.

Some, perhaps, may make an Objection, on this occasion; which it will be good to answer: which is, That as the Edict, consider it how we will, is become only a Law of State by HENRY the Great's Authority; so it may likewise be revoked and annulled by LOUIS XIV., his grandson and successor: for things may be ended, by the same means [that] they have been begun. If HENRY the Great has had the power to change the Form of Governing the State by introducing a new Law; why has not LOUIS XIV. the same power to alter this Form, and annul whatsoever his predecessor has done?

But this Opinion will soon be answered by considering that it is built upon a false Principle; and offers a falser Consequence. It is not the single Authority of HENRY the Great which has established this Edict. The Edict is a Decree of his Justice; and an Accord or Transaction that passed between the Catholics and the Reformists; authorized by the Public Faith of the whole State; and sealed with the seal of an Oath; and ratified by the execution of it. Now this renders the Edict inviolable; and sets it above the reach of HENRY's Successors: and therefore they can be only the Depositaries and Executors of it; and not the Masters, to make it depend on their will. HENRY the Great never employed the force of Arms to make the Catholics consent to it: and, though, since his death, under the minority of LOUIS XIII., there have been Assemblies of the States General; the Edict has remained in full force. It was then, as we have already said, a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom; which the King could not touch.

But supposing this were a work grounded on the bare Authority of HENRY; which is false: it does not therefore follow that His present Majesty can revoke it. The Edict is a Royal Promise, which HENRY the Great made to the

Reformists of his Kingdom, as well for himself as for his successors for ever, as we have already seen: and, consequently, this is a condition, or hereditary debt, charged on himself and [his] posterity.

Moreover, it is not true that HENRY the Great has changed anything in the Government of the State; when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects: for this Liberty is [a] matter of Right, and more inviolable than all Edicts; seeing that it is a Right of Nature. He has permitted a public Exercise of the Reformed Religion; but this Exercise was established in the Kingdom before his Edict: and if he has enlarged the Privileges of the Reformed, as without doubt he has, he did not do it without the consent and approbation of the State; and has, herein, violated nothing of his lawful engagements.

But it is not the same with LOUIS XIV.: who, of his own pure authority, makes a real and fundamental Change; against the concurrence of one part of his State, and without consulting the other [*i.e., the Roman Catholics*]: hereby violating his own Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too.

In fine, if we consider what means have been used to arrive at the Revocation in question; how shall a man not acknowledge that the State is sensibly interested [*implicated*] therein. They are not contented to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to annul the Protestants' Privileges, by unjust Decrees: but they also send them Soldiers *to dispute Points of Religion with them!* They are sacked like people taken by assault, forced in their Consciences! and for this purpose, Hell itself is let loose upon them! and this is *the effects of a Military and Arbitrary Government, regulated neither by Justice, Reason, nor Humanity*. Can it be thought that France will be at ease in this manner? or that wise people will think this, an equitable way of governing?

There needs another Design, another Passion to satisfy, another Vengeance to execute: then, woe be to them who shall oppose it! for the Dragoons will not forget their Office!

TO THESE TWO Reflections, which respect the French King and his States; we may add a Third, which will have regard to the Interests of Kings, Princes, and other Powers, of Europe, as well of the one, as of the other, Religion. We shall not be much mistaken if we say, that they have a common and general concern herein; inasmuch as these skilful Artists in Misery do as much as they can to trouble the good understanding that is betwixt them and their people. We are persuaded that their wise and just Governments will, in this respect, put them beyond all fear: but this hinders not examples of this nature from being always mischievous, and naturally tending to beget in the minds of the vulgar, who commonly judge only of things in general, suspicions and distrusts of their Sovereigns; as if they dreamed of nothing but devouring their subjects, and delivering them up to the Discretion, or rather the Fury, of their Soldiers. The greater moderation and justice that Princes have, the less they are obliged to those who furnish people with matter for such dangerous thoughts; which may produce very ill effects.

Besides, is it not certain that the Princes and States of Europe cannot, without a great deal of pleasure, see France (which makes so great a figure in the Affairs of the World, and gives them so powerful an influence) now put herself in such a condition, as that no just measures can be taken from her? For, after so scandalous and public a Violation of the Word of three Kings, and of the Public Faith, what credit can be given, for the future, to her Promises or Treaties?

It will not be sufficient to say that they will have no force but what Interest [*self-interest*] inspires: but that they will hereafter depend on the Interest or Capriciousness of a sort [*number*] of Heady People, that will give nothing either to the laws of Prudence or Equity; but manage all by Force.

If they have had the power to do, within the Kingdom,

what they have lately put in execution ; what will they not do as to Affairs without ? If they have not spared their own countrymen, with whom they had daily commerce, who were serviceable to them ; will they spare the unknown ? Will they have more respect to Truces, or Conventions, of four days' transactions, than to an Edict of a hundred years' continuance ? and that the most August and Solemn that ever was : which yet they made no other use of, than to amuse [*delude*] a people, and to involve them more surely in an utter desolation. Methinks, they have resolved to bring things to this pass. That, there being no more Faith to be had in France, all her neighbours should be continually upon their guard against her ; and the more so, when she promises than when she threatens ; more in Peace, than in War : so that there are no more hopes of being at quiet, but what the Surety of Hostages, or the diminution of her forces, can give.

This being so, in respect to all Princes and States in general ; what may the Protestant Princes and States in particular think, but that it is the Design of France to ruin them *all* ; and to make no stop till she has devoured them. Everybody knows that the Protestant Princes understand their Interests well enough, to be able to discern them through the clouds wherewith they would cover them : and it is not doubted but they see that this is a Beginning or Essay, which France expects shortly to give the last stroke to.

The Court there has suffered itself to be possessed with gross Bigotry, and a false zeal of Catholicism. It is the Genius à la mode. Each there is become a Persecutor, even to Fire and Sword ; and there are some persuaded that this shall weigh down the balance. Vain Glory is no small ingredient in this Design. Policy has her Prospects and Mysteries in it too : and as these Prospects have no bounds, so her Mysteries want not invisible springs and surprising ways ; which she will join when she pleases, to the power of Arms. She thinks the season is ripe ; and that she needs only to dare ! The easiness she has found in making Conquests and Conversions swells her courage ; and already some talk of nothing but a further progress in so fair a way ! It is to be hoped that Protestant Princes and States will from thence draw their just conclusions.

All who submit not, shall be Heretics ! J. Claude. 1686.

As to Catholic Princes and States ; they have too sagacious judgements not to see how much they share in this Affair. It will be made use of, to break the good understanding which is betwixt them and the Protestants : by amusing [*deluding*] those, with the fair pretext of the Catholic Religion ; and cunningly inspiring these, with jealousies of a General Design to destroy them.

If the Catholic Princes and States remove not these suspicions ; if they suffer France still to aggrandize herself, by her pretended zeal for Catholicism, which at the bottom is but a Mask : they may already be assured, that they are lost ! It will signify little to say, ‘ We are good Catholics as well as you ! ’ This will not secure them from [the] Dragoons ! All that will not take the yoke, shall be Heretics ! nay, worse than Heretics ! for now, the greatest Heresy is not to submit ! Spain, Germany, and Italy, already know this in some measure.

BUT WILL IT not be thought a Paradox if, to all that we have said, we add, That the Pope himself, and the whole body of the Roman Church, find themselves sensibly interested [*implicated*] in the Persecution of us: and yet we will say nothing herein, but what is evident truth; and which the wisest of the Roman Catholics must agree to.

For is it not the worst character that can be given of the Roman Clergy, to represent them, as an Order of Men who not only cannot endure anything that is not subject to them in a Religious, but also in a Civil, Society—as Men that are not content to anathematize all that displeases them, but design nothing so much as to exterminate them: not only to exterminate them, but also to force their Consciences, and inspire their Opinions, and propagate their Way of Worship, by the knocking arguments of Swords and Staves—as an Order of Men who keep neither Faith nor Justice; who promise only to deceive; who for a while curb their fury, only that afterwards they may the more insult; that, in Peace as well as War, contrive only to overturn and destroy; that make Alliances only to surprise; and, finding themselves the more powerful, deny those they have surprised, the liberty to escape. These are the exact features and colours by which the Roman Clergy may be easily known; if we judge of them by the Persecution in France: the like whereof was never seen, to this day.

The Egyptians, and the Assyrians, once persecuted the Israelites: but forced them not to embrace the Worship of their idols. They contented themselves with making them slaves; without doing violence to their Consciences.

The Heathens and the Jews persecuted the Primitive Christians, and forced their Consciences indeed: but they had never granted them an Edict; nor by persecuting them, did they violate the Public Faith; nor [did they] hinder them to make their escape by flight.

The Arians cruelly persecuted the Orthodox: but, besides that, they went not so far as to make the common

sort of people sign formal Abjurations. There was no formal Edict, or Concordat, between the two Communions.

INNOCENT III., by his Crusades, persecuted the Waldenses and Albigenses: but these people also had no Edict.

EMANUEL, King of Portugal, furiously persecuted the Jews: but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom; and they had no Edict.

It was the same with those remains of the Moors who had settled themselves in some Cantons of the Kingdom of Granada. They were defeated in a war; and commanded to retire into the country from whence their ancestors came.

In the last Age, the Duke of ALVA exercised dreadful cruelties upon the Protestants of the Seventeen Provinces: but he did not hinder them from flying; nor [did he] violate any Edict—and, at the worst, Death was their release.

The Inquisition is, to this day, in Spain and Italy; but they are countries in which no Religion, besides the Roman, was ever permitted by Edicts: and if the Inquisitors may be accused of violence and cruelty; yet they cannot be convicted of perfidiousness!

But, in this last Persecution of France, there are Five things that strike the mind with horror:

They make the Consciences and Religion of Men to depend sovereignly upon the Will of a King.

They violate a Faith authentically sworn to.

They forced men to be hypocrites and wicked; by seeming to embrace a Religion which they abhor.

They prohibit all flights, or retiring, out of the Kingdom.

They do not put to death; but preserve life, to oppress it with longer torments.

If, after this, the Court of Rome, and its Clergy dispersed over the rest of Europe, disclaim not so odious and so criminal a conduct; if they condemn it not; it will be an indelible stain to the honour of their Religion. Not only Protestants, who are of a different Communion; but also an infinite number of their own Catholics will be mightily scandalized thereat. Nay! even the Turks, and Jews, and Pagans, will rise up in judgement against them!

They may already know what they have been condemned of, in what passed, in the Council of Constance,

concerning JOHN HUSS, and JEROME of Prague; whom they put to death, notwithstanding the Safe Conduct of the Emperor SIGISMUND: but there is something greater here. There only Two men were concerned: here more than Fifteen Hundred Thousand. Those they put to death: and if they had done the same to these, they would have embraced their death with joy and comfort! The Council thought its Authority greater than SIGISMUND's: but there cannot be produced one above that which established our Edict.

WE ARE NOT ignorant of the different Methods which the Persecutors take, to shelter themselves from public condemnation.

Some take a speedy course, to deny the fact; and persuade the World, 'That force and violence have had no share in the Conversions; but they were soft, and calm, and voluntary: and that if there were any Dragoons concerned therein, it was because the Reformed themselves desired them; that they might have a handsome pretence to change their Religion.' [(MARIN) GROSTESTE DES MAHIS. 'Considérations sur le Schisme,' 11 August 1685.]

Was there ever seen so much Impudence! What will they not deny, who can deny what is done in the face of the sun; and what a whole Kingdom, from one end of it to the other, hath seen, and to this day sees! For, in the beginning of the year 1686, whilst I am composing this sad Rehearsal, they continue to exercise in France the same rage that ended the previous year. The same Dragoons, both in Cities and countries, execute the same Fury against some lamentable remains [*residue*] of Protestants; who will not fall down and worship.

They are used like Rebels in their persons, in their estates, in their Wives, and in their children: and if there be any difference, it is in this, that their Sufferings are still increasing.

Yet, if we will believe the Clergy, haranguing the King, and [DANIEL DE COSNAC,] the Bishop of VALENCE, their Speaker, he tells His Majesty, How miraculous his reign is; seeing such infinite numbers of Conversions are made to the Roman Church, without violence and Arms: 'much less,' saith he, 'by the force of your Edicts, as by the example of your exemplary piety.' If we will believe the greatest part of the Abjurations which these poor oppressed people are *forced* to make; they speak, indeed, [in] the same sense, *viz.*, That they have done this; without being constrained thereto.

Thus is the credulity of the Public imposed on. They have Seeds of Imposture sown at their feet; which are to grow with the time. Posterity, which shall see these Records, will believe they contain the truth. 'Here,' say they, 'is what has been told the King; who must not have falsehoods offered him! Here are the proper Acts and Deeds of those that were converted!' Why will not, then, Posterity believe it? seeing that, at present, there are people impudent enough, or to speak better, paid well enough, to publish it in strange countries! and there are found persons credulous enough to believe it.

But, I pray, what likelihood is there that the 150,000 persons already gone out of France—without anything that constrained them to it, should leave their houses, their lands of inheritance, their effects, and several their Wives and children, to wander about the world, and [to] lead a miserable life, for a humour! Is there any likelihood that Persons of Quality, of both sexes, who enjoyed 10,000, 15,000, 20,000, 30,000, Livres [— £1,000, £1,500, £2,000, £3,000,] *per annum*, would abandon their estate [*property*], not only for themselves but for their successors; expose themselves to the perils and incommodiousness of long journeys; and reduce themselves, in a manner, to beggary (which is a condition the most insupportable in the World to Persons of Quality); and all this, without any reason? without any occasion?

What likelihood [is there] that this 150,000 persons who have already escaped (some of them into Switzerland, others into Germany; some into Denmark, others into Holland; some into Sweden, and others into England; and some into America), without seeing or knowing one another: and yet have agreed to tell the same lie, and to say with one voice, 'That the Protestants are cruelly persecuted in France; and that, by unheard-of severities, they are forced to change their Religion': although there is no such matter?

Is it likely the Ambassadors and Envoys of Foreign Powers should lie, all of them, in consort; telling them this news: wherein there is no truth?

But I pray, if in France the Protestants thus voluntarily and without constraint change their Religion; and that the Dragoons are called in, only as their good friends: whence happens this so strict and general Guard on the frontiers, to hinder people's departure? How is it that the Prisons of the Kingdom are crammed with fugitives,

stopped by the way? Whence is it, that those who have changed, are watched with such great care to hinder their flight, to the obliging them to deposit sums of money to secure them from the suspicion of it? This must be an Epidemical Distemper that has seized on His Majesty's subjects, that shall make them fly thus, without reason! But is not this a fine cover [*imagination, pretence*] to say, That the Protestants have themselves called in the Dragoons, to have the better pretence to change their Religion!

It is about ten or more years since there was a Bank set up to traffic for Souls. [The 'Caisse des Conversions,' founded in 1676. The price for a Conversion, in out of the way districts, was Twelve Shillings a head.] Monsieur PÉLISSON has, for a long time, been the great dealer of Paris, in this infamous trade of purchasing Converts. These Conversions have, of late, been the only way of gaining applause and recompences at Court; and, in a word, a means of raising one's fortune: and yet we must be told, That, instead of being converted by these easy ways, we had rather choose the help of [the] Dragoons, that is, of being pillaged! At least, let any one tell us, Why, since these pretended voluntary Conversions, the people not being willing to go to Mass, they have been obliged to send them troops; and [to] use them with the same severity as before?

This is so gross and palpable an untruth; that others have undertaken to defend these Violences, as being naturally of the genuine Spirit of the Catholic Church: and, for this purpose, they have continually in their mouths, that passage of the Gospel, *Compelle intrare!* 'Compel them to come in!' [Luke xiv. 23.]; and the Persecution which the Orthodox of Africa offered the Donatists, etc.

Were this a place to dispute against these furious Divines, we could easily shew them the vanity of these allegations: but we shall rather ask them, Whether the Jews and Pagans had agreed upon an Edict with the Apostles, when our Saviour says to them, 'Compel them to come in!' Has Saint AUGUSTINE ever written (for he is cited in this matter), That we ought to be perfidious towards those whom we esteem as Heretics; when we promised to live with them like brethren and fellow-citizens? The Donatists, had they any Edicts, which would shelter them from the insults of the Orthodox?

If we yield to this detestable Divinity : what will become of all of us Christians ? For, in short, the Papist is as much a Heretic to the Protestant, as the Protestant is to the Papist : yet they live together in peace, on the faith of Alliances, Treaties, and Promises. But these Public Pests, as much as in them lies, have brought all things into confusion, and a State of War. They arm the Catholics against the Protestants : teaching the Catholics, by this example, that their Religion obliges them to betray and surprise the Protestants, when they can do it unpunished ; and to knock out their brains, if they will not change their Religion. They arm the Protestants against the Catholics : for, after all, what Peace and Society can we have with people who, not only make no Conscience to break their faith ; but, on the contrary, make it a Case of Conscience to break it, when they shall find occasion. Thus have they, by their Dragoons, desolated a Kingdom ; and plundered above a Hundred Thousand Families.

Do we think this Method is pleasing to him ; whom we both own to be the Author of our Faith ? He has said, That he will not suffer the Gates of Hell to ruin his Church [Matt. xvi. 18] : but he has not said, He will open the Gates of Hell for the propagating of his Church. Now if there were anything that looks like the Gates of Hell, it is the Persecutions of France.

Whatever antipathy there may be between the See of Rome and us ; we will not believe that the present Pope [INNOCENT XI.] has had any part ; or that the Storm has fallen on us from him. [*Claude was mistaken in this. Innocent XI. approved of the Revocation, by his Brief of November 13 1685.*] We know [that] he is a mild Prince ; and [that] his temper leads to more moderate counsels than those of his predecessors. Moreover we know, [that] the Clergy of France do not always consult him in what they undertake : and we have had often offered to us, what has been done against Rome, to induce us to submit ourselves to the King's Will in these other matters ; and how small a deference is paid to its Authority. So that we hope that the Pope himself, considering us still as men and Christians, will condole us ; and blame the methods used against us : had he no other reason than the Interest of Religion. Perhaps, one day, it will be our turn to blame that, which will be taken against him !

HOWEVER, IT IS certain the Protestants of France are the most fit object of public compassion, the World ever knew.

Some sigh and lament under a hard slavery; which they would willingly change for irons in Algiers or Turkey. For there, they would not be forced to turn Mahometans; and might still entertain some hopes of liberty, by way of ransom.

Others are wandering about strange countries, stripped of their estates [*property*]: separated, in all probability for ever, from their parents, their relations and friends; whom they have left in the most doleful condition imaginable. Husbands have left their Wives; and Wives, their Husbands; Fathers, their Children; and Children, their Fathers. We have seen our estates [*property*] vanish in a moment! our honest ways of living! our hopes! our inheritances!

We have scarcely anything left us, but our miserable Lives; and they are supported by the charity of our Christian Brethren.

YET, AMONGST ALL these Afflictions, we are not destitute of comfort. We, if ever any did, do truly suffer for Conscience sake: the malice of our Persecutors not being able to charge us with the least misdemeanour. We have served our King and the State with zeal and faithfulness. We have submitted to the Laws and to the Magistrates: and as for our fellow-citizens, they have no reason to complain of us. We have, for twenty years together, suffered, with an exemplary patience, all those furious and dreadful Storms aforementioned.

And when [, in July 1683], in Vivarais and Cevennes, some have thought themselves bound in Conscience to preach on the ruins of their Temples illegally demolished; their small number (which were but a handful of men, women, and children) has only served to stir up more the Resignation and Obedience of our whole body. In these latter Storms, we have been like sheep, innocent and without defence. We then comfort ourselves in the justice of our Cause; and our peaceable deportment under it.

But we comfort ourselves likewise in the Christian compassion shewed us by foreign Princes; and more especially of [JAMES II.,] His Majesty of England: who [*against his will*] has received us into his countries, succoured and relieved us, and recommended our distressed conditions to all his Subjects: and we have found in them, not only new masters, or the affection of new friends; but of real parents and brethren. And as these bowels of compassion have been as balm to our wounds: so we shall never lose the remembrance of it; and hope that we, nor our children, shall ever do anything, by GOD's grace, unworthy of any of these our Protectors.

All our affliction then is, to see our Religion oppressed in the Kingdom of France; so many Churches, wherein GOD was daily served according to the simplicity of the

Gospel, demolished ; so many Flocks dispersed ; so many poor Consciences sighing and groaning under their bondage ; so many Children deprived of the lawful education of their Parents. But we hope that, at length, the same GOD, who heard heretofore the sighs of his people in the servitude of Egypt, will also hear, at this time, the cries of his faithful servants. We call not for fire from heaven ! We are for no resistance ! We only pray that GOD would touch the hearts of our Persecutors, that they may repent, and be saved together with us. We entreat such a deliverance, as he, in his wisdom, shall think fitting.

However, it will be no offence to GOD or good men to leave this Writing to the World, as a Protestation, made before him and them, against these Violences ; more especially against the Edict of 1685, containing the Revocation of that of Nantes : that being, in its own nature, inviolable, irrevocable, and unalterable.

We may, I say, complain, amongst other things, against the worse than inhuman cruelties exercised on dead bodies ; when they are dug out, dragged along the streets at the horses' tails, and denied sepulchres.

We cannot but complain of the cruel Orders to part with our children ; and [to] suffer them to be baptized, and brought up, by our enemies.

But, above all, against the impious and detestable practice, now in vogue, of making Religion to depend on the King's Pleasure, on the Will of a mortal Prince ; and of treating perseverance in the Faith with the odious name of Rebellion. This is to make a God of Man ! and to run back into the heathenish pride and flattery among the Romans ; or an authorising of Atheism, or gross Idolatry.

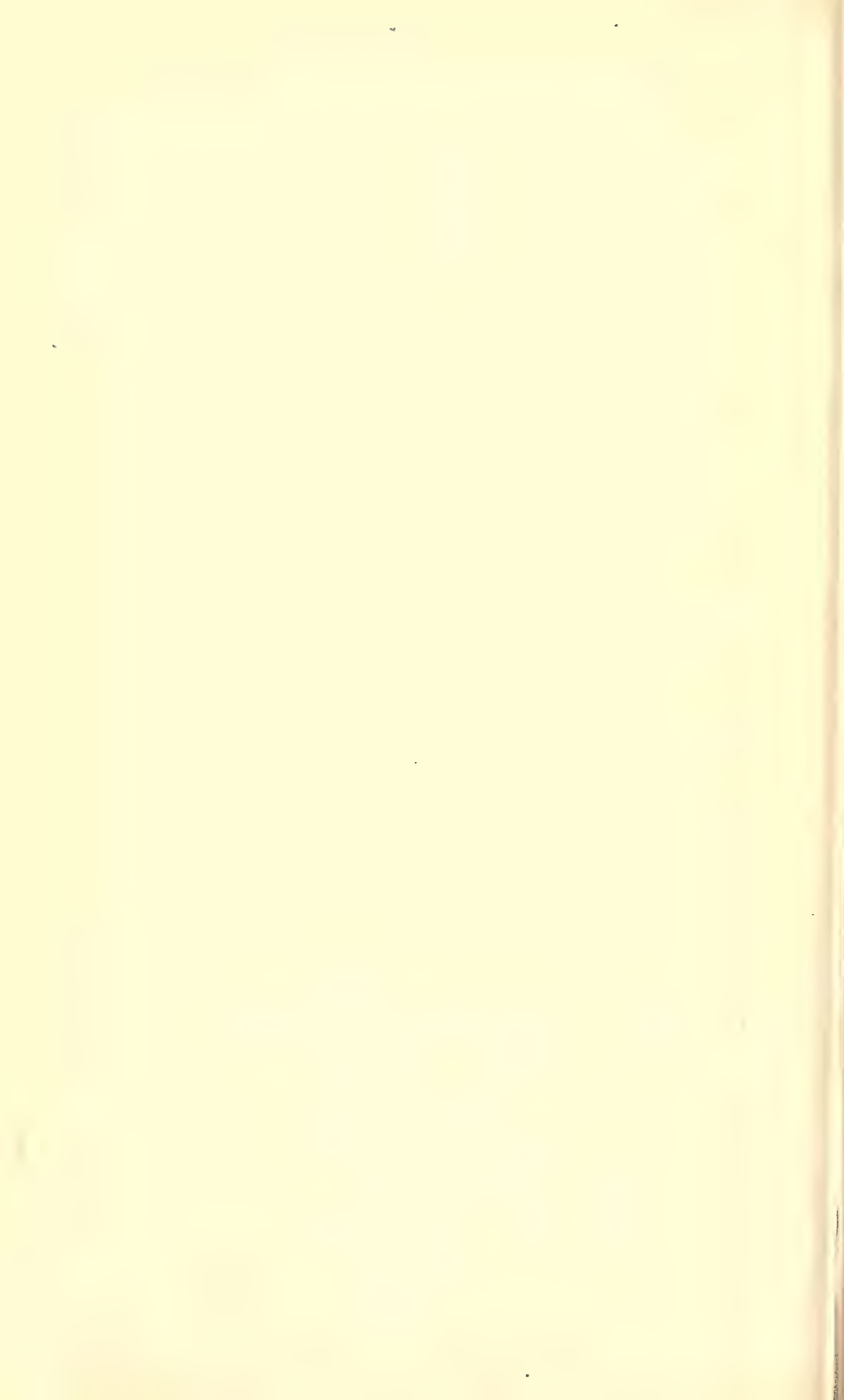
In fine, we commit our Complaints, and all our Interests, into the hands of that Providence which brings good out of evil : and which is above the understanding of Mortals ; whose houses are in the dust.

FINIS.

Some early details
of the
Revocation Atrocities,
in the beginning of the Dragonnades.
1685 A.D.

Taken from 'An Edict [*i.e.*, *the Revocation Edict*] of the French King,'
etc. . 2nd Edition corrected; with Additions. Printed by G.M. 1686.

British Museum Press-marks. France. (LOUIS XIV.) 4632. aaa. 38;
and 116. f. 48.



A Short Account of the violent Proceedings
and unheard-of Cruelties which have been
exercised upon those of Montauban, and which
continue to be put in practice in other places,
against those of the Reformed Religion in
France ; for to make them renounce
their Religion.

ON SATURDAY, the 8/18th of August 1685, the Intendant of the Upper Guienne, who resides at Montauban, having summoned the principal Protestants of the said City to come before him, represented unto them, That they could not be ignorant that the Absolute Will and Pleasure of the King was to tolerate but One Religion in his Kingdom, *viz.*, The Roman Catholic Religion: and therefore wished them readily to comply with the same; and, in order thereto, [he] advised them to assemble themselves, and to consider what resolution they would take.

To this Proposal, some answered, That there was no need of their assembling themselves upon that account: forasmuch as every one of them, in particular, was [ready] to try and examine themselves; and [to] be always in a readiness to give a Reason of the Faith which was in them.

The next day [, August 9/19], the Intendant again commanded them to meet together in the Town House [*Hôtel de Ville*]; which he ordered should be left free for them, from noon till six of the clock in the evening. Where meeting accordingly; they unanimously resolved, as they had lived, so to persist till death, in their Religion.

Which resolution of theirs, there were some deputed by them to declare to the Intendant: who presenting themselves before him, he who was appointed Spokesman, began

to address himself to the Intendant in these words, 'My Lord! we are not unacquainted, how we are menaced with the greatest violence.'

'Hold there!' said the Intendant, 'No violence!'

After this, the Protestant continued, 'But whatever force or violence may be put upon us.'

Here the Intendant, interrupting him again, said, 'I forbid you to use any such words!'

Upon which second interruption; he contented himself to assure him, in few words, That they were all resolved to live and die in their Religion.

The day after [, August 10/20], the Battalion of La Fere, consisting of sixteen Companies, entered the City; and were followed by many more.

The Protestants, all this while, dreaming of no other Design they had against them, but that of ruining their estates [*property*] and [of] impoverishing them, had already taken some measures how to bear the said trial. They had made a Common Purse, for the relief of such who should be most burdened with Quartering; and were come to a resolution to possess what they had in common. But, alas! how far these poor Souls were mistaken in their accounts; and how different the treatment they received from the Dragoons was, from what they had expected; I shall now relate to you.

First therefore, in order to their executing the Design and Project they had formed against them, they made the Soldiers take up their Quarters in one certain place in the City: but withal appointed several 'Corps de Guard' [*Guard-houses*], to cut off the communication which one part of the City might have with the other; and [they] possessed themselves of the Gates, that none might make their escape.

Things being thus ordered; the Troopers, Soldiers, and Dragoons, began to practise all manner of hostilities and cruelties, wherewith the Devil can inspire the most inhuman and reprobate minds.

They marred and defaced their household stuff; and broke their looking-glasses, and other like utensils and ornaments. They let the wine run about their cellars; and cast abroad and spoiled their corn, and other alimentary

provisions. And as for those things which they could not break or dash to pieces, as the furniture of beds, hangings, tapestry, linen, wearing apparel, plate, and things of the like nature; these they carried to the Market Place; where the Jesuits bought them of the Soldiers, and encouraged the Roman Catholics to do the like. They did not stick to sell the very houses of such as were most resolute and constant in their Profession.

It is supposed, according to a moderate calculation, that, in the time of four or five days, the Protestants of that City were the poorer by a Million of money [*that is*, 1,000,000 *Livres* = £100,000] than they were, before the entering of these Missionaries. There were Soldiers who demanded 400 Crowns [=£80] a piece from their hosts, for spending money; and many Protestants were forced to pay down 10 Pistoles [=£8 15s.] to each Soldier, on the same account.

In the meantime, the outrages they committed upon their Persons were most detestable and barbarous. I shall only here set down some few; of which I have been particularly informed:

A certain tailor, named BEARNOIS, was bound and dragged by the Soldiers to the 'Corps de Guard'; where they boxed and buffeted him all night: all which blows and indignities he suffered with the greatest constancy imaginable.

The Troopers who Quartered with Monsieur SOLIGNAC, made his dining room a stable for their horses; though the furniture of it was valued at 10,000 *Livres* [= £1,000]; and forced him to turn the broach [*spit*] till his arm was nearly burnt, by their continual casting of wood upon the fire.

A passenger, as he went through the said City, saw some Soldiers beating a poor man, even to death, for to force him to go to Mass: whilst the constant Martyr, to his last breath, cried, He would never do it!; and only requested, They would dispatch and make an end of him!

The Barons DE CAUSSADE and DE LA MOTTE, whose constancy and piety might have inspired courage and resolution to the rest of the citizens, were sent away to Cahors. Monsieur d'ALLIEZ, one of the prime Gentlemen of Montauban, being a venerable old man, found so ill-treatment at their hands, as it is thought that he will

scarcely escape with his life.

Monsieur DE GARRISON, who was one of the most considerable men of that City, and an intimate friend of the Intendant, went and cast himself at his feet; imploring his protection, and conjuring him to rid him of his Soldiers, that he might have no force put upon his Conscience: adding, That, in recompense of the favour he begged of him, he would willingly give him all he had! which was to the value of about a Million of Livres [= £100,000]. But, by all his entreaties and proffers, he could not in the least prevail with the Intendant: who gave orders that, for a terror to the meaner sort, he should be worse used than the rest, by dragging him along the streets.

The Method they most commonly made use of, for to make them abjure their Religion, and which could not be the product of anything but Hell, was this. Some of the most strong and vigorous Soldiers took their Hosts, or other persons of the house, and walked them up and down in some chamber, continually tickling them, and tossing them like a ball from one to another; without giving them the least intermission: and keeping them in this condition for three days and nights together; without meat, drink, or sleep. When they were so wearied and fainting that they could no longer stand upon their legs; they laid them on a bed; continuing as before to tickle and torment them. After some time, when they thought them somewhat recovered, they made them rise, and walked them up and down as before; sometimes tickling, and at other times lashing them with rods, to keep them from sleeping.

As soon as one party of these barbarous Tormentors were tired and wearied out, they were relieved by others of their companions; who, coming fresh to the work, with greater vigour and violence reiterated the same course. By this infernal invention (which they had formerly made use of, with success, in Bearn and other places) many went distracted [*insane*]; and others became mopish and stupid, and remain so.

Those who made their escape were fain to abandon their estates [*property*]; yea, their Wives, children, and aged relations, to the mercy of these barbarous, and more than savage, Troops.

The same Cruelties were acted at Negreplisse, a City

near to Montauban; where these bloody Emissaries committed unparalleled outrages.

ISAAC FAVIN, a citizen of that place, was hung up by his arm-pits; and tormented a whole night, by pinching and tearing off his flesh with pincers! though, by all this, they were not able to shake his constancy in the least. The wife of one ROUFFION, a Joiner, being violently dragged by the Soldiers along the streets, for to force her to hear Mass, died, of this cruel and inhuman treatment, as soon as she reached the Church Porch.

Amongst other of their Devilish Inventions, this was one. They made a great fire round about a boy of about ten years of age; who continually, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, cried, 'My GOD! help me!': and when they saw the lad resolved to die so, rather than renounce his Religion; they snatched him from the fire, when he was at the very point of being burnt.

The Cities of Caussade, Réalville, Saint Anthonin, and other towns and places in the Upper Guienne, met with the same entertainment [*treatment*]; as well as Bergerac and many other places of Perigord, and of the Lower Guienne, which had a like share of their cruel and inhuman usages.

The forementioned Troops marched, at last, to Castres; to commit the same insolencies and barbarities there also. And it is not to be doubted, but that they will continue and carry on the same course of Cruelties wherever they go; if GOD, in pity and compassion to his people, do not restrain them.

It is to be feared, for it seems but too probable, that this dreadful Persecution, in conjunction with those artifices the Papists make use of to disguise their Religion, and to persuade Protestants that they shall be suffered to worship GOD as formerly, will make many to comply with them: or, at least, make their mouths give their hearts the lie, in hopes of being, by this means, put into a condition to make their escape; and [of] returning to that Profession, which their weakness hath made them deny.

But, alas! this is not all. For those poor wretches whom, by these devilish ways of theirs, they have made to blaspheme and abjure their Religion, as if this were not enough, must now become the Persecutors and Tormentors

of their own Wives and Children, for to oblige and force them to renounce also. For they are threatened that if, within three days' time, they do not make their whole family recant in like manner, those rough Apostles, the Dragoons, shall be fain to take further pains with them, in order to the perfecting of their Conversion. And who, after all this, can have the least doubt, but that these unhappy Dragoons are the very Emissaries of Hell; whose very last efforts and death-strugglings these seem to be.

This Relation hath given a Short View of some of those Sufferings the Reformed have undergone: but not of all.

It is certain that, in divers places, they have tried to wear out their patience, and overcome their constancy, by applying red-hot irons to the hands and feet of men, and to the breasts of women.

At Nantes, they hung up several women and maids by their feet, and others by their arm-pits, and that stark naked; thus exposing them to public view, which assuredly is the most cruel and exquisite Suffering that can befall that Sex: because, in this case, their shame-facedness and modesty are most sensibly touched; which is the most tender part of their Soul.

They have bound mothers that gave suck unto posts, and let their little infants lie languishing in their sight, without being suffered to suckle them, for several days: and all this while left them crying, moaning, and gasping for life, and even dying for hunger and thirst; That, by this means, they might vanquish the constancy of their tender-hearted mothers—swearing to them, they would never permit they should give them suck, till they promised to renounce their Profession of the Gospel.

They have taken children of four or five years of age, and kept them from meat and drink for some time: and when they have been ready to faint away, and give [up] the ghost, they have brought them before their parents; and horribly asseverated [*solemnly declaring*] that, except they would turn, they must prepare themselves to see their children languish and die in their presence.

Some they have bound before a great fire; and, being half roasted, have after let them go.

They beat men and women outrageously. They drag them along the streets; and torment them day and night.

The ordinary way they take is, to give them no rest: for the Soldiers do continually relieve one another, for to drag, beat, torment, and toss up and down, these miserable wretches; without intermission.

If it happens that any, by their patience and constancy does stand it out, and triumph over all the rage and fury of those Dragoons; they go to their Commander, and acquaint him they have done all they could, but yet without the desired success: who, in a barbarous and surly tone, answers them, 'You must return upon them, and do worse than you have done! The King commands it! Either they must turn: or I must burst and perish in the attempt!'

These are the pleasant flowery paths, by which the Papists allure Protestants to return to the bosom of their Church.

But some, it may be, will object, 'You make a great noise about a small matter! All Protestants have not been exposed to these cruelties: but only some few obstinate persons.'

Well! I will suppose so: but yet the horror of those Torments inflicted on some, hath so filled the imagination of these miserable wretches, that the very thoughts of them have made them comply. It is indeed a weakness of which we are ashamed, for their sakes; and from whence, we hope GOD will raise them again, in his due time: yet thus much we may allege for their excuse, That never was any Persecution, upon pretence of Religion, carried on to that pitch, and with that politic [*crafty*] malice and cruelty, that this hath been: and, therefore, of all those which ever the Church of CHRIST [has] groaned under, none can be compared to it!

True indeed it is, that, in former Ages, it hath been common to burn the Faithful, under the name of Heretics; but how few were there exposed to that cruel kind of death, in comparison of those who escaped the Executioners' hands! But, behold here, a great people at once oppressed, destroyed, and ruined, by a vast army of prodigious Butchers! and few, or none, escaping.

Former, yea, late, Times have given us some instances of Massacres; but these were only violent Tempests and sudden Hurricanes, which lasted but a night, or, at the most, a few days: and they who suffered in them were soon

out of their pains; and the far greater number escaped the dint of them.

But how much more dreadful is the present condition of the Protestants in France! And to the end we may take a true View and right measures of it; let us consider that nothing can be conceived more terrible than a State of War: but what War is to be compared with this! They see a whole Army of butcherly Cannibals entering their houses; battering, breaking, burning, and destroying, whatever comes to hand[s]; swearing, cursing, and blaspheming, like Devils; beating to excess; offering all manner of indignities and violence; diverting themselves, and striving to out-vie each other, in inventing New Methods of Pain and Torment; not to be appeased with money, or good cheer; foaming and roaring, like ravenous raging lions; and presenting death at every moment: and that which is worse than all this, driving people to distraction and senseless stupidity, by those devilish Inventions we have given you an instance of, in the Relation of Montauban.

Moreover, this Persecution hath one characteristical Note more: which, without exaggeration, will give it the precedence in History for cruelty, above all those which the Church of GOD ever suffered, under NERO, MAXIMINUS, or DIOCLESIAN: which is, The severe Prohibition of departing the Kingdom; upon pain of the Confiscation of Goods, of the Gallies, of the Lash, and of Perpetual Imprisonment. All the Sea Ports are kept with that exactness, as if it were to hinder the escape of traitors and common enemies. All the Prisons of Sea Port towns are crammed with these miserable fugitives, men, women, boys, and girls; who there are condemned to the worst of punishments, for having had a desire to save themselves from this dreadful Persecution and deluging Calamity. This is the thing which is unparalleled; and of which we find no instance.

This is that Superlative Excess of Cruelty, which we shall not find in the List of all the violent and bloody proceedings of the Duke of ALVA. He massacred! he beheaded! he butchered! but, at least, he did not prohibit those that could, to make their escape.

In the last Hungarian Persecution, nothing was required of the Protestants, but only that their Ministers should banish themselves, and abandon and renounce the conduct of their Flocks; and because they were unwilling

to obey these Orders, therefore it is they have groaned under so long, and so terrible, a Persecution as they have done.

But this Hungarian Persecution is not to be compared with that we are speaking of. For the fury of that Tempest discharged itself upon the Ministers only. No Armies were employed to force the people to change their Religion, by a thousand several Ways of Torment; much less did it ever enter the thoughts of the Emperor's Council to shut up all the Protestants in Hungary, in order to the destroying of all those who would not abjure their Religion: which yet is the very condition of so many wretched persons in France, who beg it, as the highest favour at the hands of their merciless enemies, to have leave to go and beg their bread in a foreign country; being willing to leave their goods and all other outward conveniences behind them, for to lead a poor, miserable, and languishing, life in any place; where only they may be suffered to die in their Religion. And is it not, from all this, most apparent that those Monsters who have inspired the King with these Designs, have refined the Mystery of Persecuting to the utmost; and advanced it to its highest pitch of perfection.

O, great GOD! who, from thy heavenly Throne, dost behold all the outrages done to thy people, haste thee to help us! Great GOD! whose compassions are infinite, suffer thyself to be touched with our extreme desolation! If Men be insensible of the calamities we suffer; if they be deaf to our cries, not regarding our groans and supplications: yet let thy bowels, O, Lord! be moved, and affect thee in our behalf! Glorious GOD, for whose Name's sake, we suffer all these things; who knowest our innocence and weakness, as well as the fury and rage of our Adversaries, and the small support and help we find in the World: behold, we perish! if thy pity do not rouse thee up for our relief. It is thou, [who] art our Rock! our GOD! our Father! our Deliverer! We do not place our confidence in any; but thee alone! Let us not be confounded; because we put our trust in thee! Haste thee to our help! Make no long tarrying, O Lord! our GOD and our Redeemer!

A Letter sent from Bordeaux ; giving an
Account of the Persecution of those of the
Protestant Religion in France
[, about October 1685].

SIR,

WHAT YOU HAVE heard concerning the Persecution of those that are of our Religion in the land of Bearn, Guienne, and Perigord, is but too true: and I can assure you, that they, who have given you that Account, have been so far from amplifying the matter, that they have only acquainted you with some few particulars: yet am I not much surprised at the difficulty you find to persuade yourself, that the things of which your friends inform you are true. In cases of this nature, so amazingly unexpected, we are apt often to distrust our own eyes: and I profess to you that, though all places round about us echo the Report of our ruin and destruction; yet I can scarcely persuade myself it is so indeed, because I cannot comprehend it.

It is no matter of surprise, or amazement, to see the Church of CHRIST afflicted upon earth; forasmuch as she is a stranger here, as well as her Captain, Lord, and Husband, the holy and ever-blessed JESUS, was: and must, like him, by the same Way of Cross and Suffering, return to her own country; which is above. It is no matter of astonishment to find her, from time to time, suffering the worst of usage, and [the] most cruel Persecutions. All Ages have seen her exposed to such trials as these; which are so necessary for the testing of her Faith, and so fit a matter for her future Glory. Neither is it any great wonder if, amidst these sore trials, vast numbers of those who made Profession of the Gospel, do now renounce and forsake it. We know that all have not Faith: and it is more than probable that they, who do not follow CHRIST, but because they thrive by it, and for

the loaves, will cease to be of his retinue, when he is about to oblige them to bear his Cross, and [to] deny themselves.

But that which seems inconceivable to me is, that our enemies should pitch upon such strange Ways and Methods to destroy us, as they have done; and that, in so doing, they should meet with a success so prodigious and doleful.

I shall, as briefly as I can, endeavour to give you an Account of so much as I have understood of it.

All those thundering Declarations and destructive Arrests (which continually were sued for, and obtained against us; and which were executed with the extremity of rigour) were scarce able to move any one of us. The forbidding of our Public Exercises, the demolishing of our Churches, and the severe Injunction that not so much as Two or Three of us should dare to assemble in order to anything of Divine Worship; had no other effect upon the far greater part of us, than to inflame our zeal, instead of abating it: obliging us to pray to GOD with greater fervour and devotion in our Closets, and to meditate of his Word with greater application and attention. And neither the great Wants, to which we were reduced by being deprived of our Offices and Employs, and other means of living; and by those insupportable Charges with which they strove to overwhelm us, as well by Taxes as the Quartering of Soldiers, both [of] which were as heavy as could be laid upon us: nor the continual trouble we were put to, by Criminal and other matters of Law, which, at the suit of one or other, were still laid to our charge, though upon the most frivolous and unjust pretences imaginable—I say, all these were not able to wear out our patience; which was hardened against all Calamities: insomuch as the Design of forcing us to abandon the Truth of the Gospel would infallibly have been shipwrecked, if no other means had been taken in hand for this purpose.

But, alas! our enemies were too ingenious to be balked so; and had taken our ruin too much to heart, not to study for means effectual and proper to bring about their desires. They called to mind what a prodigious success a new kind of Persecution had had, of late years, in Poitou, Aunis, and Saintonge; which the Intendants of those places had bethought themselves of: and they made no difficulty to have recourse to the same, as to a means infallible, and not

to be doubted of.

I must tell you, Sir, That we had not the least thought that ever such Violent Methods as these would have been pitched upon, as the means of our Conversion. We were always of opinion, that none but [the] DENNUEUX's and the MARILLAC's could be fit Instruments for such like enterprises: neither could we ever have imagined that Generals of Armies (who account it a shame and reproach to attack and take some paltry town or village) should ever debase themselves to besiege old men, women, and children, in their own houses; or that ever Soldiers (who think themselves ennobled by their swords) should degrade themselves so far as to take up the trade of Butchers and Hangmen, by tormenting poor Innocents, and inflicting all sorts of punishments upon them.

Moreover, we were the less in expectation of any such thing; because, at the self-same time they treated us in this manner, they would needs persuade us, That the King's Council had disapproved the Design. And, indeed, it seemed very probable to us, that all reasons (whether taken from Humanity, Piety, or Interest) would have made them disavow and condemn a Project so inhuman and barbarous.

Yet now, by experience, we find it but too true, that our enemies are so far from rejecting the said Design, that they carry it on with an unparalleled zeal and application; without giving themselves any further trouble to effectuate their desires, than that of doing these Two Things:

The First of which was, To lull us asleep; and to take away from us all matter of suspicion of the mischief they were hatching against us: which they did, by permitting some of our Public Exercises of Religion; by giving way to our building of some Churches; by settling Ministers in divers places to baptize our children; and by publishing several Arrests and Declarations, which did intimate to us that we had reason to hope we should yet subsist for some years. Such was that Declaration, by which all Ministers were ordered to change their Churches every three years.

The Other was to secure all the Sea Ports of the Kingdom, so as none might make their escape: which was done by renewing the ancient Prohibitions of departing the

Kingdom without leave; but with the addition of far more severe Penalties.

After these precautions thus taken: they thought themselves no longer obliged to keep any measures; but immediately lift[ed] up the hand to give the last blow for our ruin.

The Intendants had orders to represent to us, That the King was resolved to suffer no other Religion in his Kingdom besides his own; and to command us all, in his name, readily to embrace the same: without allowing us any longer respite to consider what we had to do, than a few days; nay, hours—threatening us, That if we continued obstinate, they would force us to it by the extremity of rigour.

They presently executed these their menaces, by filling our houses with Soldiers; to whom we were to be left for a prey: and who, not content with entirely ruining us, should, besides, exercise upon our persons all the violence and cruelty they could possibly devise. And all this, to overcome our constancy and perseverance. Four months [? July—October 1685] are now passed and gone, since they began to make use of this strange and horrible way of converting people; worthy of, and well becoming, its Inventors.

The country of Bearn was first set upon, as being one of the most considerable out-parts of the Kingdom; to the end that this mischievous enterprise, gaining strength in its passage, might, soon after, overwhelm, and, as it were, deluge, the other Provinces in the same sea of the uttermost Calamity.

Monsieur FOUCAULT, the Intendant, went himself, in person, to all the places where we were in any numbers; and commanded all the inhabitants that were of the Protestant Religion, under penalty of great amercements [*fines*], to assemble themselves in those places he appointed to them: where, being accordingly met together, he charged them, in the King's name, to change their Religion; allowing themselves only a day or two to dispose themselves for it.

He told them, That great numbers of Soldiers were at hand, to compel those that should refuse to yield a ready obedience. This threatening of his being immediately followed by the effect, as lightning is by thunder; he filled the houses of all those who abode constant in their

resolution to Live and Die faithful to their Lord and Master, JESUS CHRIST, with Soldiers: and commands those insolent Troops, fleshed with blood and slaughter, to give them the worst treatment they could possibly devise.

I shall not undertake, Sir, to give you a particular Account of those excesses and outrages that these enraged Brutals committed, in executing the orders they were charged with. The Relation would prove too tedious and doleful. It shall suffice me to tell you that they did not forget anything that was inhuman, barbarous, or cruel; without having regard to any Condition [*Quality*], Sex, or Age.

They pulled down and demolished their houses. They spoiled, dashed to pieces, and burnt, their best moveables and household-stuff. They bruised, and beat to death, venerable old men. They dragged honourable Matrons to Mass; without the least pity or respect. They bound and fettered innocent persons, as if they had been the most infamous and profligate villains. They hung them up by the feet, until they saw them ready to give up the ghost. They took red-hot fire shovels, and held them close to their bare heads; and actually applied them to other parts of their bodies. They immured them within four walls; where they let them perish for hunger and thirst.

And the constancy wherewith they suffered all these torments, having had no other effect but that of augmenting the rage of these Furies; they never ceased inventing New Ways of Pain and Torture, till their inhumanity, at length, had got the victory; and triumphed over the patience and faith of these miserable wretches: insomuch that, of all those many numerous Assemblies we had in that Province, as that of Pau, de Arthes, de Novarre, etc., there are scarcely left a small number; who either continue constant, in despite of all these cruelties; or else have made their escape into Spain, Holland, England, or elsewhere; leaving their goods and families for a prey to these merciless and cruel men.

Success having, thus far, answered their expectation; they resolved to lose no time: but, vigorously prosecuting their work, they immediately turned their thoughts and Arms towards Montauban; where the Intendant, having summoned the citizens to appear before him, speaks to them much of the same language as was used to those of

Bearn. Whereunto they having returned about the same answer; he orders 4,000 men to enter the City; and makes them take up their Quarters, as at Bearn, only in the houses of the Protestants; with express command to treat them in like manner as they had done those of Bearn. These inhuman wretches were so diligent and active in executing these pitiless Orders, that of 12,000 or 15,000 Souls, of which that Church did consist, not above Twenty or Thirty families have escaped; who, in a doleful and forlorn condition, wander up and down the woods, and hide themselves in thickets.

The ruin of this important place drew after it the desolation of all the Churches about it, which were all enveloped in the same common calamity; as those of Réalmont, Bourniquel, Négrepelisse, etc.

Yet was not the condition of the Churches in the Upper Guienne more sad and calamitous than that of those of the Lower Guienne, and of Perigord; which this horrible Deluge hath likewise overwhelmed. Monsieur [LOUIS FRANCOIS] BOUFFLERS and the Intendant having shared the country between them: Monsieur BOUFFLERS took, for his part, Agenois, Tonneins, Clerac, with the adjoining places; and the Intendant took upon him to reduce Fleis, Monravel, Gensac, Cartillon, Coutras, Libourne, etc. The Troops which they commanded, in the meantime, carried desolation to all the places they passed through; filling them with Mourning and Despair, and scattering Terror and Amazement amongst all those to whom they approached.

There were, at the same time, 17 Companies at Sainte Foy, 15 at Nerac; and as many, in proportion, at all other places. So that all places, being filled with these Troops accustomed to licentiousness and pillage; there is not any one of the said places where they have not left most dreadful marks of their rage and cruelty: having, at last, by means of their exquisite tortures, made all those of our Religion submit themselves to the Communion of Rome.

But forasmuch as Bergerac was most signally famous for the long trials it had most gloriously endured; and that our enemies were very sensible of what advantage it would be to the carrying on of their Design, to make themselves masters there also, at any price whatsoever; they accordingly

failed not to attempt the same, with more resolution and obstinacy than at any of the forementioned places.

This little town had already, for three years together [? 1683—1685], with admirable patience and constancy, endured a thousand ill treatments and exactions from Soldiers; who had picked them to the very bones. For, besides that it was almost a continual passage for Soldiers; there were no less than 18 Troops of Horse had their Winter Quarters there: who yet, in all that time, had only gained Three Converts; and they such too, as were maintained by the alms of the Church.

But to return. The Design being formed to reduce the City; 2 Troops of Horse were immediately ordered thither, to observe the inhabitants: and, soon after, 32 Companies of Foot enter[ed] the town. Monsieur BOUFFLERS, and the Intendant of the Province, with the Bishops of AGEN and PÉRIGUEUX, and some other Persons of Quality, rendered themselves there at the same time.

They sent for Two Hundred of the chiefest citizens to appear before them; telling them, That the King's express Will and Pleasure was, [that] they should all go to Mass; and that, in case of disobedience, they had orders to compel them to it.

To which the citizens unanimously answered, That their estates [*property*] were at the disposal of His Majesty; but that GOD alone was the Lord of their Consciences: and that they were resolved to suffer to the utmost, rather than do anything contrary to the motions of them.

Whereupon they were told, That if they were so resolved, they had naught else to do, but to prepare themselves to receive the punishment their obstinacy and disobedience did deserve.

And, immediately, 32 Companies more, of Infantry and Cavalry, entered the City; which, together with 34 Companies before mentioned, were all Quartered with Protestants: with express command not to spare anything they had; and to exercise all manner of violence upon the persons of those that entertained them, until they should have extorted a promise from them, to do whatsoever was commanded them.

These Orders then being thus executed, according to the desires of those who had given them; and these miserable victims of a barbarous Military Fury being reduced to

the most deplorable and desolate condition; they were again sent for to the Town House [*Hotel de Ville*]; and once more pressed to change their Religion.

They answering, with tears in their eyes, and with all the respect, humility, and submission, imaginable, 'That the matter required of them, was the only thing they could not do': the extremest rigour and severity is denounced against them.

They presently made good their words, by sending 34 more Companies into the City; which made up the full number of 100; who, encouraging themselves from their numbers, and, flying like enraged wolves upon these innocent sheep, did rend and worry them in such a manner, as the sole Relation cannot but strike with horror and amazement.

Whole Companies were ordered to Quarter on one Citizen; and persons, whose sole estate did not amount to 10,000 Livres [= £1,000], were taxed at the rate of 150 Livres [= £15] a day. When their money was gone, they sold their household stuff; and sold that for Twopence which hath cost 60 Livres [= £6].

They bound and fettered Father, Mother, Wife, and Children. Four Soldiers continually stood at the door, to hinder any from coming in to succour or comfort them. They kept them in this condition two, three, four, five, and six, days; without either meat, drink, or sleep. On the one hand, the Child cries, with the languishing accent of one ready to die, 'Ah! my Father! Ah! my Mother! What shall I do? I must die! I can endure no longer!' The Wife, on the other hand, cries, 'Alas! my heart fails me! I faint! I die!'

Whilst their cruel Tormentors were so far from being touched with compassion, that, from thence, they took occasion to press them afresh, and to renew their torments: frightening them with their hellish menaces, accompanied with most execrable oaths and curses; crying, 'Dog! What! wilt not thou be converted? Wilt not thou be obedient? Dog! Thou must be converted! We are sent on purpose to convert thee!'

And the Clergy, who are witnesses of all these cruelties (with which they feast their eyes), and of all their infamous and abominable words (which ought to cover them with horror and confusion), make only a matter of sport and laughter of it.

Thus these miserable wretches, being neither suffered to live or to die, for when they see them fainting away, they force them to take so much as to keep body and soul together; and seeing no other way for them to be delivered out of this Hell, in which they are continually tormented: are fain, at last, to stoop, under the unsupportable burden of these extremities. So that, excepting only a few (who saved themselves by a timely flight; preferring their Religion before all temporal possessions), all the rest have been constrained to go to Mass.

Neither is the Country any more exempt from these calamities than Towns and Cities; nor those of the Nobility and Gentry, than Citizens. They send whole Companies of Soldiers into Gentlemen's houses; who treat them in the most outrageous and violent manner conceivable: insomuch that not a Soul can hope to escape; except, it may be, some few who, like the Believers of old, wander in deserts, and lodge in dens and caves of the earth.

Furthermore, I can assure you, that never was any greater consternation than that which we are in here [at Bordeaux] at present. The Army, we hear, is come very near us; and the Intendant is just now arrived in this City.

The greater part of the most considerable Merchants are, either already gone, or are casting about, how best to make their escape; abandoning their houses and estates [*property*] to their enemies. There are not wanting some cowardly spirits [*i.e. the New Converts*], who, to avoid the mischief they are preparing for us, have already promised to do whatsoever is required of them.

In a word, nothing is seen, or heard, in these parts, but consternation, weeping, and lamentation: there being scarce a person of our Religion, who hath not his heart pierced with the bitterest sorrows, and whose countenance hath not the lively picture of Death imprinted on it; and, surely, if our enemies triumph in all this, their triumph cannot likely be of any long continuance.

I confess, I cannot persuade myself to entertain so good an opinion of them, as to think that ever they will be ashamed of these their doings; so diametrically opposite to

the Spirit of the Gospel: for I know that the Gospel, in their accounts, passeth for a Fable. But this I dare aver, that this Method of theirs will infallibly lay waste the Kingdom; which, according to all appearance, is never like[ly] to recover of it: and so, in time, they themselves will be made as sensible of these miseries as others now are.

Commerce is already, in a manner, wholly extinct; and there will need little less than a Miracle to recover it to its former state. What Protestant merchants will henceforward be willing to engage themselves in trade, either with persons without faith, and who have so cowardly betrayed their Religion and Conscience; or with the outrageous and barbarous Persecutors of the Religion which they profess? and who, by these courses, declare openly and frankly, that it is their principle, Not to think themselves obliged to keep their word with Heretics. And who are those, of what Religion soever, that will negotiate with a State exhausted by Taxes and Subsidies, by Persecutions, by barrenness and dearth of several years' continuance; full of a despairing people; and which infallibly will, ere long, be full of those that are proscribed, and be bathing in its own blood.

And these miserable wretches (who have been deceived by those who have told them, That it would never be imposed upon them to abjure their Religion: and who are stupified by the extremity of their Sufferings, and the Terror of their bloody and cruel enemies) are wrapped up in so deep an Astonishment, as doth not permit them to be fully sensible of their Fall. But as soon as they shall recover themselves, and remember that they could not embrace the Communion of Rome, without absolutely renouncing the Holy Religion they Professed; and when they shall make a full reflection upon the unhappy change they have been forced to make: then, their Consciences (being awakened, and continually reproaching their faint-heartedness) will rend them with sorrow and remorse; and inflict torments upon them equal to those the damned endure in Hell; and will make them endeavour to be delivered from this anguish, and to find rest in the constant Profession of that Truth which they have unhappily betrayed.

And, on the other side, their Enemies will be loath to take the lie at this time of the day; and therefore will

endeavour, through fear of punishments, to oblige them to stay in that Abyss of Horror, into which they have precipitated them. But because all the Sufferings they can possibly threaten them with, will be no ways considerable, when compared with those tortures their Consciences have already inflicted on them; and wherewith they threaten them in case of a Relapse: they will be constrained to drag them to the Place of Execution; or else seek to rid themselves of them, all at once, by a General Massacre, which many good Souls have so long desired.

I hope, Sir, you will not be wanting in your most earnest prayers, to beg of GOD, That he would be pleased to take pity of these miserable wretches; and to make the heart of our Sovereign [, LOUIS XIV.,] to relent towards us! That he would convert those who, in their blindness, think they do him service, by putting us to death! That he would cause his voice to be heard by them from heaven, as to Saint PAUL, 'SAUL! SAUL! why persecutest thou me?'; and make the rest the examples of his exemplary Justice! Finally, That he would grant that all those who have denied him, being touched with a true repentance, may, with Saint PETER, 'Go out, and weep bitterly.'

I am,
Sir,
Yours, etc.,

An Extract of a Letter, by T. G., containing
some more instances of the cruel and barbarous
usage of the Protestants in France.

. **B**UT THIS, SIR, is not the thing which troubles me most, at this time. There is another cause of my grief; which is but too just, and even pierceth my heart with sorrow: and that is, The cruel Persecution which the poor Protestants of France do suffer; amongst whom I have so many near and dear Relations.

The torments they are put to are almost incredible: and the heavenly courage, wherewith some of them are strengthened, by their great Captain and Leader, to undergo them, is no less amazing and wonderful.

I shall give, for instance, one or two of these Champions; that by them, you may judge of the rest:

A young woman was brought before the Council, in order to oblige her to abjure the Truth of the Gospel; which she boldly and manfully refusing, she was commanded back again to Prison: where they shaved her head; and, having stripped her stark naked, in this manner led her through the streets of the City; where many a blow was given her, and stones were flung at her.

After this, they set her up to the neck in a tub full of water: where after she had been for a while, they took her out; and put upon her a shift dipped in wine, which, as it dried and stuck to her sore and bruised body, they snatched off again; and then had another ready, dipped in wine, to clap upon her. This they repeated six several times: and when, by this inhuman usage, her body was become very raw and tender, they demanded of her, 'Whether she did not now find herself disposed to embrace the Catholic Faith?' for so they are pleased to term their Religion.

But she, being strengthened by the spirit and love of him for whose Name's sake she suffered all these extremities, undauntedly answered, That she had before declared her Resolution to them, which she would never alter: and that, though they had her Body in their power, she was resolved not to yield her Soul to them; but [to] keep it pure and undefiled for her Heavenly Lover: as knowing that a little while would put an end to all her Sufferings, and give a beginning to her enjoyment of Everlasting Rest.

Which words of hers, adding fuel to their rage, who now despaired of making her a Convert; they took and fastened her, by her feet, to something that served the turn of a Gibbet: and there let her hang, in that ignominious posture, with her head downwards, till she expired.

The other person whom I would instance; and whom I pity the more, because, for ought I know, he may yet survive, and still continue under the Tormentors' hands, is an old man.

He having, for a great while, been kept close prisoner, upon the same account as the former, in a deep Dungeon, where his companions were darkness and horror and filthy creeping things; he was brought before his Judges, with vermin and snails crawling upon his mouldered garment: who, seeing him in that loathsome condition, said unto him, 'How now, old man! Does not your heart begin to relent? and are not you willing to abjure your Heresy?'

To whom, he answered, 'As for Heresy, I profess none: but if, by that word, you mean my Religion; you may assure yourselves that as I have thus long lived; so I hope, and am resolved, by the grace of GOD, to die in it.'

With which Answer they, being little pleased, but furiously incensed, spoke to him in a rougher tone, 'Dost thou not see, that the worms are about to devour thee? Well! since thou art so resolved; we will send thee back again to the loathsome place from whence thou camest, that they may make an end of thee, and consume thy obdurate heart!'

To which he replied, with the words of the holy patient JOB, *Novi postquam vermes confoderint (Corpus) istud, in carne mea me visurum esse Deum.* 'I know that, after worms have eaten this Body, that, in my flesh, I shall see GOD! [xix. 26.]

And having so said, he was sent back to his loathsome dark abode: where if he be still, I pray GOD to give him patience and strength to hold out the end; that so he may obtain the Crown of Life.

I should be too tedious, in giving you all the particulars of their cruelty, and of the Sufferings of the Protestants: yet I cannot well forbear acquainting you with what, lately, I am most credibly informed of: which take as follows.

Some Dragoons were Quartered with a person, whom they could, by no means, oblige to renounce his Religion. Upon a time, when they had well filled themselves with wine, they broke their glasses at every Health they drank, and so filled the floor where they were with the fragments; and, by often walking over and treading upon them, reduced them to lesser pieces and fragments. And, being now in a merry humour, they must needs go to dance; and told their Host, That he must be one of the company: but withal, that he must first pull off his stockings and shoes, that he might move the more nimbly. In a word, they forced him to dance with them, bare-footed, upon the sharp points of glass: which when they had continued so long as they were able to keep him on his legs, they laid him down on a bed.

A while afterwards, [they] stripped him stark-naked; and rolled his body, from one end of the room to the other, upon the sharp glass, as before-mentioned: which having done till his skin was stuck full of the said little fragments, they returned him again to his bed; and sent for a Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*] to take out all the said pieces of glass out of his body—which, you may easily conceive, could not be done without frequent incisions, and horrible and most extreme pain.

Another person being likewise troubled with the unwelcome company of these Dragoons; and having suffered extremely at their hands, without the expected success of his Conversion; one of them, on a time, looking earnestly upon him, told him, That he disfigured himself, with letting his beard grow so long.

But he, answering, That they were the cause of it; who would not let him stir out of doors, for to go to the Barber: the Dragoon replied, 'I can do that for you, as well

as the Barber!'; and with that, told him, He must needs try his skill upon him.

And so fell to work; but, instead of shaving him, he flayed all the skin off his face.

One of his companions, coming in at the cry of this poor sufferer; and, seeing what he had done, seemingly blamed him for it, and said, He was a bungler!: and then, to his Host, 'Come! your hair wants cutting too; and you shall see, I will do it much better than he hath shaved you!' And thereupon begins, in a most cruel manner, to pluck the hair, skin, and all, off his head; and flayed that, as the other had done his chin. Thus making a sport and merriment of the extreme suffering of these miserable wretches.

By these inhuman, and more than barbarous, means it is, that they endeavour to overcome the most resolved patience; and to drive people to despair and faint-heartedness by their devilish Inventions. They refuse to give them death, which they desire: and only keep them alive to torment them so long, till they have vanquished their perseverance. For the names of Martyrs and Rebels are equally odious to their enemies; who tell them, That the King *will* have obedient subjects; but neither Martyrs! nor Rebels! and that they have received orders to convert them; but not to kill them!

Sir, I beg your pardon for having so long entertained you, with these more than Tragical Passages; and [I pray,] that you would not be wanting to recommend the condition of these poor, destitute, afflicted, and tortured, persons to the bowels of compassion of our Heavenly Father! that he would be pleased not to suffer them to be tempted above what he shall give them grace to bear. Which is the hearty Prayer of

Your faithful friend,

T. G.

*A Specimen of Papal and French
Persecution ;*

as also of

*The Faith and Patience of the late
French Confessors and Martyrs.*

*Exhibited
in the cruel Sufferings, and most exemplary Behaviour,
of that eminent Confessor and Martyr,*

Monsieur Louis de Marolles,

*Councillor to the French King, and Receiver of the
Consignations in the Bailiwick of Sainte Menehould
in Champagne ;*

*from his Condemnation to the Gallies, 1686,
to his death in the Dungeon, 1692.*

*Done newly out of [the] French [Original,
printed at the Hague, 1699].*

London.

1712.



To
Monsieur Heinsius, Councillor and Pensionary
of Holland and West Friesland.

SIR,

A FRIEND OF MY father's, to whom I have communicated some Letters written with his own hand, would needs take the pains to put in order, The History of his Sufferings and Martyrdom; with which it pleased GOD to crown him.

I take the liberty, Sir, to dedicate it to you; and I hope you will not take it ill.

I thought that the History of the many Evils and Sufferings which the most cruel Violence could invent, wherewith to triumph over his Faith and Constancy, might serve to fortify and strengthen those who are persecuted for the Truth; and to awaken those who are negligent in the exercise of Piety.

I have also been persuaded that the History of a Martyr, who hath made so much noise in the World (if I may say it without vanity), could not be better dedicated than to the Premier Minister of a Commonwealth, no less charitable than powerful; and which affords subsistence and support to so many Millions of persons, who have forsaken all, to preserve that Fidelity which they owe to GOD.

Every one, Sir, is acquainted with the weight and influence which your counsels have in all the Deliberations of the State; and the Refugees are not ignorant of the obligations, which engage them to publish their acknowledgements. It is for this reason that, in acquitting

Dedication.

1699.

myself of so just a duty, I intreat you to grant me the honour of your protection; and to permit me to style myself,

With a most profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, and most obedient, Servant,

DE MAROLLES.

The Hague.

12 March 1699.

[∴ The Preface to this English Translation is omitted; as being not much to the purpose.—E.A.]

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The History of the Sufferings of the blessed Martyr, Louis de Marolles.

I. **I**T IS CERTAIN that the wisdom of GOD, under the Gospel Dispensation, hath chosen the Voice of Afflictions, and the Cry of the Blood of Martyrs, to manifest the power and victories of Faith. And, in consequence of this, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, having given some examples of the surprising effects of the Faith furnished by the Martyrs, from thence he draws this Conclusion, or rather Exhortation, 'Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a Cloud of Witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us! Looking unto JESUS, the Author and Finisher of our Faith: who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of GOD. For consider him, that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself; lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.' [xii. 1-3.]

To copy therefore, after the Divine Oracles; and to imitate in particular this Author; I shall lay before the eyes of Christians, the Sufferings of some later Confessors and Martyrs; to the end that, being animated and encouraged by those great examples, they may preserve to GOD that Fidelity which they owe to him, in the midst of the most sharp and severe trials.

JESUS CHRIST (who hath redeemed us; and who shall judge the World) doth prescribe us our Duty, when he says, [Matt. x. 32, 33.] 'Whosoever shall confess me before Men; him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before Men; him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.'

Now we must not imagine, nor flatter ourselves, that the rigour of this Command doth regard only those who shall renounce JESUS CHRIST as Saviour of the World, to receive the Alcoran [*Koran*]. This precept doth likewise extend to the salutary Truth which GOD hath made known unto us; since, in Saint Mark viii. 38, it is declared, by the Son of GOD, in these express words 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of *my words*, etc.; of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when

he cometh in the glory of the Father, with the holy angels.'

From thence it is, that the first Christians (jealous of the honour of GOD, and of the purity of their Faith) chose to expose themselves to all manner of miseries; rather than to do anything which bore the least resemblance of Idolatry, or which might be liable to sinister interpretations: as did appear by the Writings of the first Doctors of the Church; and particularly of TERTULLIAN.

They did likewise rank among the Apostates those, as Cowards, who gave money to the Commissioners to be comprehended in the number of those who had obeyed the Ordinances made against the Christians; although they had done no such thing.

But as they exercised this rigour towards feeble Christians; they did likewise take great care to collect the Acts and Monuments of the EUSEBIUS. Eccles. Martyrs, as did appear by a Letter of the Church of Hist. Lib. I., p. 4. Smyrna, occasioned by the death of Saint POLYCARP their Bishop; who had seen the Apostle JOHN. And if Time had not robbed us of those precious Relations; one might more exactly see both the number and constancy of all those Martyrs, of whom now we hardly know the names.

They did celebrate the Day of their Death, as being that of their Birth. They made Encomiums upon them, on the score of their Sufferings. Insomuch that, at length, the Christians, in prosperity, (being inwardly convinced of the vast and infinite difference between theirs, and their own zeal and piety; between theirs, and the lives of those illustrious Martyrs) began to invoke them, and worship their relics. But, in the beginning, it was not so.

The Faithful of Smyrna do say, in their Letter, that they EUSEBIUS. Eccles. had gathered together the bones of the Martyr, Hist. Lib I., p. 17. POLYCARP, 'which they valued and prized above gold or precious stones, to reposit them in a suitable and convenient place, to the end that, meeting and assembling there as much as they possibly could, they might celebrate the Day of his Martyrdom or of his Birth; as well in memory of those who have sustained this glorious fight, as to instruct and confirm Posterity by their example.'

This place where they reposit the bones of those happy men, was (as is confessed by the Learned) the Churchyard, where they buried them; and where the first Christians met, to celebrate the memory of the Martyrs.

It is very certain, by this Letter, that they did not, as yet, invoke those Martyrs; since making Reflections upon the proceedings of the Jews, who solicited the Proconsuls to hinder the Christians from collecting the bones of POLYCARP, 'for fear,' said they, 'that they should worship him; instead of him that was crucified': those Faithful

answered, That the Jews were ignorant. That they might worship and serve no other than him who died for the Salvation of Men; whom they adored as the Son of GOD: but they loved and honoured, as it was just they should, the Martyrs, as Disciples and Imitators of him.

It did appear from another passage of Saint IRÆNEUS, alleged by EUSEBIUS, that the Christians were grieved that they could not inter the bodies of the Martyrs. He observes, moreover, that the Pagans caused them to be burnt, to expose their ashes to the wind, or [to] cast them into the Rhone; thereby making a mock and derision of the hopes which the Christians had of the Resurrection.

EUSEBIUS doth further inform us, That, in his time, under the Persecution of MAXIMINIAN, they hindered the Histor. Martyr. Christians from burying their Martyrs, 'as if that,' Palæst., Cap. 9. saith he, 'had been of some importance.'

When the Church enjoyed some repose, under the Christian Emperors; they began everywhere to seek for the bodies of the most famous and illustrious Martyrs, to erect tombs and monuments to them. Their Dreams then served, instead of Proofs, to discover and distinguish them: and they began to have too great an esteem and regard for their relics.

We read, in the Fourth Tome of the great *Bibliotheca* of the Fathers, some Treatises attributed to EUSEBIUS by the Jesuit SIRMOND; among which, in the Second Book which treats of the Resurrection, there is mention made of Saint ROMAIN, Martyr of Antioch. And it is observed there, That an Apostate Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*], being ordered to cut out his tongue, reserved and kept it by him; for a proof against those who would have accused him for not performing his Commission. Upon which EUSEBIUS makes this reflection, That he did not throw that which he had cut, away; but preserved it at his house against his Resurrection: as the weak and infirm Faithful were wont to do, that they might honour those fragments of the bodies of the Martyrs which they could recover and procure.

There are two things remarkable in this History: the growing custom of worshipping the Relics; but withal, that custom disapproved and rejected by wise and knowing persons.

The people had so strong a bias and inclination to superstition, that, in the time of THEODOSIUS the Younger, the Histor. SOCRAT. Novatians, those of them at least who made a par- Lib. VII., c. 25. ticular Sect upon the account of Easter Day, did assemble near to the tomb of SABBATIUS, in the isle of Rhodes, where he died in exile, to pray over his sepulchre. Bishop ATTICUS caused the body to be conveyed away by night, to take them off from this superstition.

It is therefore true, according to the sentiments of the greatest part of Christendom, that we are to collect the Acts of the Martyrs, only to be instructed and encouraged by their example.

It is, with this view and consideration, that the First Christians, and our Fathers in the time of the Reformation, did compile and leave us as much as they could of the History of those who have suffered for the Faith. And we, their successors, should be wanting to our duty, and to that care which future Posterity expects and requires from us, if we should neglect to acquaint future Ages, how great and violent have been the efforts of the Persecution, which, under a great and powerful King, hath been unjustly carried on against us; and with the greatness of the strength and constancy of so many Faithful: who, by their admirable patience, have sustained the Combat without falling; or who have piously and courageously recovered their lapses.

One shall see them, by thousands, forsake their country, their goods, their friends, to go out of the Kingdom, at the peril of being condemned to the Gallies, or confined to some Prison or Cloister; and, in each, exposed to all the temptations, and all the secret miseries, which it is very difficult to give a lively representation of.

We have seen persons of Birth and Quality, as Monsieur the Marquis of MONBETTON, descended from the Family of LA FORCE, of seventy-four years of age, also Men of Learning and Study, under the Chain, or upon the Bench of Galley Slaves with the oar in their hand, under the inspection of a severe Committee.

We have seen Monsieur MUSSON, a famous Councillor in the Parliament of Paris, departed, with all his family, to come and give glory to GOD at the Hague; where he lived with the approbation of all honest persons. We have seen, I say, this celebrated Magistrate condemned to the Gallies, without any regard to the dignity of his character, which could not exempt him from the apparent infamy of that arrest; which will, in future Ages, be his, and his family's, glory.

Would not one, who sees and considers this inflexible rigour, be apt to say, That to serve GOD according to the Convictions of a man's heart, and the motions of his Conscience, was the greatest of all crimes! and the most unpardonable of all trespasses!

Well! GOD be praised! that, in an Age so infected with the love of the World, wherein Piety is on all sides exposed to the attacks of Impiety and Libertinism; the Reformed Churches of France will be able to furnish and afford the succeeding Ages, great examples of Fidelity and Perseverance, in the midst of the most dangerous and most sensible Afflictions: and, indeed, everyone ought to contribute their assistance towards the Publication of the History of those noble and worthy Confessors and Martyrs of JESUS CHRIST.

1629-85. Marolles, a cultivated Country Gentleman.

II. And, truly, it must have been thought a great neglect of this duty, to have deprived the Public of the knowledge which it ought to have of the blessed Martyr, LOUIS DE MAROLLES; who hath filled the Louvre, the Parliament, France, and all Europe, with the sweet odours of his Sufferings and Afflictions. To perpetuate which, we might here produce several Letters which he wrote with his own hand; and others likewise which were wrote to him by several persons, and even by some of his Roman Catholic friends, to which he hath answered: only that to do this, would require a Volume. It shall therefore suffice to give some brief Idea of his Sufferings; and of the invincible firmness of his Faith during so sharp and tedious a trial: and the names of the persons concerned shall be suppressed and concealed, that they may not be exposed to resentment.

Monsieur LOUIS DE MAROLLES was born about the year 1629, as appears by one of his Letters, a little before his death, which happened in the year 1692, where he speaks, That he had almost accomplished sixty-three years,

He was born at Champagne, of an ancient Family, very noted for their skill in the Law. He dwelt at Sainte Menehould; where he exercised the Office of King's Counsellor, and Receiver of Consignments: his Religion making him incapable of any other Post.

His eldest brother was slain by a cannon ball, which broke his leg, at the taking of Sainte Menehould by the King: and went thither, by Orders of the Court, to direct where to apply the batteries, for the attack of the weakest part of the place. He was brought back to Chalons; where the King sent him his Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*]: who having cut off his thigh four fingers too low, they were forced to begin the operation anew; in which he died.

III. Our LOUIS DE MAROLLES was loved and esteemed by all those that knew him; because he was of a sweet and easy temper, and of a pleasant conversation.

He was endued with a perfect good Judgement: insomuch that, upon the first mention of the New Philosophy of GASSENDI and DESCARTES, founded on experience; he applied himself to study them, and did, of himself, make a great progress and proficiency therein. I have seen some Remarks and Observations which he made upon the Vacuum, with quills full of quicksilver; in which there appeared as much justice in his Reasonings, as exactness and accuracy in his Observations.

He applied his experience to the study also of Physic; as far as Philosophy, and his own natural sense and understanding, could enable his mind to find out some Medicines proper to heal the sick: and his

children have several receipts [*recipes*] written with his own hand.

Having learned of Monsieur CLAUDE DE MAROLLES, of Vitry in France, his relation, the grounds and fundamentals of Algebra: those two friends did advance so far in this Science, that they were, both of them, the Prime Artists [*leading Algebraists*] of their Age. They held a correspondence, by Letters, with all those who were excellent in this Science; especially with Father [JACQUES] DE BILLY, a learned Jesuit, who hath presented the public with, *Diophantes redivivus*. There is in manuscript, A Treatise of Algebra, composed by our LOUIS DE MAROLLES; with the Solution of a great number of very difficult and curious Problems.

As he was endued with a clear and perspicuous spirit; he delivered and explained himself after so plain and intelligible a manner, that one might easily apprehend the meaning of what he said. Those also who desired to profit by his conversation, became in a short time skilful in this Science: as, among others, a certain honest man, who lived with the Duke of MAYNE, and who faithfully maintained that friendship with him which he owed him: having done all that in him lay, to procure him some ease and refreshment. One may say, That if Monsieur DE MAROLLES had loved the World; he would have appeared among the Learned with pomp and distinction.

IV. But he was contented to lead a quiet and obscure life, in the place of his nativity, amongst his relations; who are the most noted persons in Sainte Menehould: and made it his chief business and occupation to instruct himself in Religion, and to grow and advance in Piety. This virtue was in him a truly Christian grace, founded upon the knowledge, and upon the lively persuasion, of the Truth, and of his Duty.

It was not the effect of a phlegmatic and melancholic temper; which sometimes puts on the appearance of Piety, the better to judge and censure all Mankind. Never was any man more agreeable and pleasant in everything, wherein Piety was not concerned. He made use of Music for his recreation; and sometimes of Hunting, to preserve his health by that exercise. In a word, he was esteemed by all the World, and affectionately loved by his friends; always of a smooth and equal temper; always shewing an honest and becoming gravity, without being crabbed and troublesome; always of a light and cheerful humour, supported by the beauty and good disposition of his mind; having a heart satisfied and contented with his condition.

The Pastor of his Church, a man of great merit and strict probity, his intimate friend, and one in whom he placed his most entire confidence, doth thus speak of him, in one of his Letters.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES was of a very happy constitution. His temper was free from vapours of melancholy ; and did not carry him into any opposite or contrary Passion. He was endued with a solid Spirit, capable of vast application ; with an exact Judgement and discerning quality. He never filled his mind with vain cares and solitudes ; but maintained a great steadiness and constancy in misfortunes. This was not a bare natural disposition in him ; but he had strengthened it by study, meditation, and piety. He had a good heart ; and a firm resolution never to be wanting in any of his duties. All this gave him a fund of peace and tranquility ; so that he was scarce ever seen to be in a passion. He knew how to be seasonably serious, and merry, in conversation ; and rendered himself so pleasant and agreeable in Society, that I have seen but few people like him.

He had attained a sufficient Light and Knowledge in the History of the Church, so as very much to ground and confirm him against the Romish Religion. He perfected and completed his knowledge by diligently reading the dispute betwixt Monsieur [JEAN] CLAUDE and Monsieur [ANTOINE] ARNAULD upon the Eucharist ; and Monsieur [MATTHIEU DE] LARROQUE's 'History of the Eucharist.' And he likewise read the other books of the Time ; when they fell into his hands. After the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and some other books which he made use of to feed and nourish his devotion ; he employed his time in the study of the Mathematics, and particularly of Algebra : and [he] recreated himself with Music.

You know that he had a great desire to bring up his family well : one of his chief maxims with relation to that being, That it is necessary to restrain children from trifles, in order to render them of a just mind ; and never to fill them with vain fears, nor vain hopes. The cares and distractions which followed upon his marriage did sometimes create in him some cares and uneasiness : but he contented himself therewith, out of a principle of Duty. When the Affairs of Religion began to be taken in hand ; he did often declare to me, That he feared nothing so much as to see his Wife and children suffer : and that, if he could find the means to send them out of the Kingdom, he was in no fear for himself. In all our affairs, he maintained a free spirit ; and I never saw him embarrassed but once, in a nice and critical conjuncture. He, during all that time, did afford me

more succour and consolation than I am able to express: and I do believe that I did often contribute to strengthen and confirm him in his good resolutions; which doth afford me at present a true joy and comfort.

He remained a long time unresolved in his choice of a retreat into foreign countries. I was at first in a mind to go into Switzerland: and I had proposed to Monsieur the late Count D' E, to sell his land, and purchase others there; to which he was well enough inclined. I endeavoured to engage Monsieur DE MAROLLES to take the same course: and not to separate. He did testify some inclination thereto for some time: but, in a journey which we made together to Vitry, Monsieur the Doctor LE T. persuaded him to go with Monsieur BECK; as being a man able to make a good shift, and one that could find out the means to procure a good settlement anywhere. And since that time, he wholly laid aside his thoughts of travelling into those parts: and we, each of us, took different measures.

A little while after, the Exercise of Religion [*Public Worship*] was taken away from us. At length they expelled me from Ep——. Monsieur DE MAROLLES came to me to Neuville——; and the day following, to Helmauru: where we had our last conversation together; which was very tender and affecting.

V. In order to comprehend the reason which drew Monsieur DE MAROLLES into Germany; you must know that some Protestants, going from Champagne, to Lorraine, bordering upon the Duchy of Deux Ponts, the inhabitants of the County of Saarbruck and Alsatia had been prevailed upon, by Monsieur de LA GOUPELLIÈRE to settle themselves in that country: he assuring them, with an oath, that no person should be molested or disturbed; and that the Exercise of Religion, which was established at Lixim and Bourbac, should be preserved; because they had a mind to populate and re-establish that desolate and ruined country.

Several discoursed with me [*the Writer of this Biography*] about it: to whom I answered, That we must consider that country, just as we do a Tree in a large champaign field, when we are overtaken and surprised by a storm; and one retires thither, only to find a shelter a while under its branches. That, moreover, it would be more easy to go out of the Kingdom; being upon the frontiers thereof.

Thus did Monsieur DE MAROLLES and I reason, when we were together at Helmauru, near to Vitry, on Easter Day, [April 22nd,] in the

year 1685 [N.S.] : which was the last time I ever saw him.

I shall observe, in going along, that this Village derives its name from another which is called Mauru ; and they say, Helmauru, instead of Les Mauru. The little river of Moivre gives them both their names. From whence it must be concluded, That the famous battle of ATTILA was fought in Champagne, near to Chalons, at a place called *Mauriacum*. There is a village called Pogny, derived from the Latin word, *Pugna* ; which signifies, A fight or battle. The river of Moivre does, in this place, discharge itself into the Marne : and Vitry perhaps took its name from this victory. This may serve to determine Authors upon this point ; which is very much perplexed and embarrassed in History.

VI. All the promises and assurances of Monsieur DE LA GOUELLIÈRE were but weak and slender securities ; as had been foreseen : and, a few days after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes [October 18 1685], some Archers were sent to compel those who had been solicited and invited to settle themselves in those Quarters, to abandon them and return home.

VII. Monsieur BARTHÉLEMI DE MAROLLES, a young nephew of our illustrious Martyr, was stopped at Biche ; notwithstanding that he had a Certificate from the Grand Bailiff of the County of Saarbruck, as having, about six months since, preached in the Church of Bourbac. He continued three months a prisoner in that Fort ; and was, at length, conveyed to Chalons. They took him out of the Prison of the Town, to remove him into that of the Bishopric ; in order to make room for his Uncle, whom they had brought thither.

This young man, who was then but nineteen years of age, continued three years in the Prison of the Bishopric : and (after having sustained their Disputes, Promises, and Threatenings) he was, at length, set at liberty as a Confessor ; and came to continue his studies with success at Utrecht, where he now [1699] is.

One cannot, without injustice, refuse to the name of DE MAROLLES those praises and encomiums which it deserves. I shall not stop with observing that their Family is invested with ancient Titles of Honour and Nobility : as the Wardship of Noblemen's Children ; which, according to the custom of Vitry, belongs only to Gentlemen.

I choose rather to insist upon the praises which Piety hath procured them. For, besides our Martyr and his nephew, who have been just mentioned ; there is still at Amsterdam, Monsieur THIERRI DE MAROLLES, an Advocate, whom, together with his whole family, we are to look upon as so many Confessors. He retired at first to

Metz; from whence he was forbid [den] to depart. At length, the Count DE BYSSI caused him to come before him, the 28th day of January 1686; and ordered him to quit the City the same day, with his family, consisting of eight persons.

He returned to the Castle of Clemery sur Seille; where he spent the winter. The 8th day of May 1686, the Grand Provost of Nancy took them all prisoners; and committed them to his Archers. And, the next day again, he had them all stripped to their shirts (being the Husband, Wife, three young Damsels, and three Boys), in the presence of the Judge, and the Mayor of Clemery. They took away all the money which was sewed up in their clothes; and, at length, they covered them, one after another, with the Provost's Morning Gown, to search them all over their bodies. Would not one say, That they treated them at discretion; as if they had been Prisoners of War, Assassins, or Poisoners? They were, all of them, at length, carried prisoners to Chalons; where they were separated.

The Mother and Daughters were put into different Convents: the Boys, who were very young, with Scriveners or Notaries. The Maids did imitate these brave examples; each of them continuing firm and steadfast in their Religion.

They were, all of them, set at liberty, and sent out of the Kingdom, the 1st of March 1688: together with Monsieur DE BEAUCHAMP, an Elder [of the Protestant Church] of Charenton; and Monsieur DE MAROLLES, Student in Divinity, of whom we have spoken before.

VIII.

AS FOR OUR Martyr, with Madame MARY GOMMERET his Wife (the daughter of Monsieur GOMMERET; formerly a famous and noted Magistrate of Sedan, and very high in the esteem of Monsieur the Marshal DE FABERE); they settled themselves at Lixim.

He had four children. The two Daughters are [in 1699], with their Mother, in the Society of Ladies of Quality at Haarlem; from whom they receive all manner of kindness and consolation.

The two Sons are in the Service. The elder (who had his leg broke twice; once at the battle of Landen, and another time by an unfortunate accident) is an Officer in the Earl of ALBEMARLE'S Regiment; and the younger [is an] Ensign of the Regiment of Monsieur DE SAINT AMAND: both of them loved and esteemed by those that know them.

They were very young, when their father endeavoured to go out of France; since he saw he could no longer stay there with Liberty of Conscience. But GOD (who called him to glorify his name; and to carry, along with his chains, the good odour of the Reformation, even into the Prætorium) suffered him, to be stopped, with his whole family, on Sunday, the 2nd day of December in the year 1685, upon the territories of France, two leagues on this [*the French*] side of the Rhine, by one, Monsieur BOURBON, an Aide-Major [*Assistant Major*] of Strasburg; accompanied by two Cavaliers.

They were, all of them, conveyed to one of the Prisons of the City; and put into a square Tower which stands into the middle of the river. He observed that this Tower is 26 feet in front; and 106 in height.

We must, in this place, hear what he saith himself.

A little while (says he) after he had been there, Monsieur the Marquis DE CHAMILLY, Governor; Monsieur DE LA GRANGE, the Intendant; together with the Major and Aide-Major BOURBON; came to interrogate and examine me. I told them the naked truth of things; without disguise or dissimulation. After which they departed.

The next morning, Madame [DE CHAMILLY,] the Governess gave herself the trouble to visit us. After having told us, That she sympathized in our disgrace; she

said, That there was a remedy to be had ; that it lay in our power ; that we must obey the King's Orders, and get ourselves Instructed ; and that she would send us some Father Jesuits for that purpose.

I answered her, That, as to my part, I found myself sufficiently Instructed : but that I would not refuse to hear those, whom she should do me the honour to send to me.

The same day, in the afternoon, came Father DEZ, Rector, accompanied with another Jesuit, to visit us. They passed nothing but civilities ; making me a thousand offers of service : and desiring freely to let him know if I wanted anything out of their House, or any of their books ; seeing I had no other book besides our 'Psalms.' And because I proposed to set myself as fairly as I possibly could in his esteem ; I prayed him to send me THOMAS [HAEMMERLEIN] à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* : which he did, with some others, and particularly Monsieur [JACQUES B. BOSSUET, the Bishop] DE CONDOM's 'Exposition of the Catholic Faith.'

He came again to visit me, and asked me, What scruples I might have concerning my Religion ?

I answered, That I had none : but that I was very well persuaded that it was the good and true one.

He replied, That my discourse shewed me to be prejudiced.

Upon this, we entered into debates : and the subject of this conversation ran upon this, *viz.*, Our acknowledgement of the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession for Brethren ; and upon the Eucharist.

One may, by these first steps, discover the sincerity and dove-like simplicity of this blessed Martyr. He was arrested in the Kingdom : and if he had had a mind to say, That he was going to Strasburg (as he was solicited and desired to do), there was nothing which could prove, or convince [*convict*], him of the contrary : and they would not then have condemned him ; but would have been contented to send him back to Champagne. But being always faithful to his GOD, and ever careful to preserve his innocence and integrity ; he used neither deceit nor equivocation. 'I told them,' saith he, 'the true state of things ; without disguise or dissimulation' ; that is, as he expresses himself in another Letter, That he declared sincerely that his design was to go out of the Kingdom, and seek in foreign countries the Liberty of serving GOD according to the motions and directions of his Conscience.

It would be a curious thing to know what reflections the equivocating Doctors made in private upon this sincerity. But to this Christian sincerity, must be joined the prudence and moderation with which our Martyr behaved himself, to the end, that even 'his good might not be evil spoken of'; according to the precept of Saint PAUL. 'I proposed, however,' saith he, 'to set myself as fair as I possibly could in his esteem.'

I shall not relate all those Conferences and Conversations in which this faithful Christian discovered his knowledge, and the solid foundations of his Faith. He confirmed his sentiments by Reason, the Word of GOD, and some Passages of the Fathers.

Some days after the visits of Father DEZ, he received another from Father ROBINE: and their discourse was concerning the Authority of the Church, in explaining the meaning of Scripture. Monsieur DE MAROLLES said, That the Scripture was explained by itself; and the maxims of good sense.

Upon which, the Jesuit asked him, If he were infallible?

To which, having replied, That he had not presumption enough to believe himself such; the Jesuit concluded, 'That I must therefore doubt of all my decisions.'

To which I answered, (saith he) 'That because I might be mistaken; it did not at all follow that my judgements must be dubious: and that his Maxim was good for nothing but to establish Infidelity.'

They discoursed about Councils, and their pretended Infallibility. They examined what was meant by the word, Church: our Martyr affirming, That the True Church, to which JESUS CHRIST communicates and imparts his Graces, could not be composed of hypocrites, [and of] impious and profane persons.

He observes that, in another visit, this same Priest engaged him in a dispute about the pretended Schism; with which they charge and reproach us, telling him, That we must rather suffer and endure *all*, than give such a scandal to the Church.

He answered, That so soon as we find ourselves forced to a Worship, which we esteem disagreeable to GOD; we can no longer hold and join in Communion with those who would oblige us to such Worship: and that, besides, they had driven us out of it, by Excommunications, by Torments, and cruel Deaths.

He alleged the example of ELIAS, and of those 7,000 men who had not bowed their knees to Baal [1 Kings xix.18]; and asked the Jesuit, Whether he believed that those 7,000 persons did separate from the True Church, by joining themselves to ELIAS?

To which the Jesuit Father returned no answer: but went away, a little after.

Monsieur and Madame DE CHAMILLY came to visit him, attended by Father Rector DEZ, and Monsieur SEV., [Protestant] Minister of Bourbon, who (either had made, or was ready to make,) his Abjuration: which, however, he hath since detested and abhorred; having left France, as I have been informed, to lament his Fall.

Their conversation was like to the former. And as Master DE MAROLLES went about to speak of what had passed in the Ninth Century, as concerning PASCHASIUS and RATRAMNUS; he observes that they stopped his mouth, by saying, That it was one of Minister [JEAN] CLAUDE'S Fables: which plainly shews that those Doctors spend but very little study in Controversies, to attribute that to CLAUDE; which all our Authors have taken notice of, before him.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES proceeds in his Relation, and says,

When I saw myself treated after that matter; I did exactly keep that silence, which they imposed upon me; and the Rector began to read again out of those books, which he had brought. And after a Lecture, which lasted a very long while; Monsieur the Marquis DE CHAMILLY bid Monsieur SEV. tell me his opinion. But he made no other Answer but, That he shared in our disgrace.

After which, they all went out; and Father Rector never came more to see me since that time.

But Father GODINET and another came several times. As, in the first conversation, he repeated part of the same things which Father DEZ had told me before; I made him the same Answers.

In another, this Jesuit undertook to prove to him, That a Sign may be the Thing Signified. 'You know,' saith he, 'the noble thing which [JOHN (SOBIESKI),] the King of Poland did, at the raising of the Siege of Vienna. Is it not true, that, one or two years after, the same King might

himself have represented his exploits upon a Theatre. It would therefore be himself, which did represent himself: 'and he,' I say, 'would have been both the Sign and the Thing Signified together.'

To which piece of Sophistry, our Martyr replied, 'That I found his Example very strange, and his Proof very weak: and that his Proposition proved nothing else, but that the King of Poland might represent his Past, by his Present, Actions; and that his Present Actions were only Signs and Representations of his Past Actions, and not the Actions themselves: and that to prove what he said, It was sufficient only to observe that any other person, besides the King, might have made the like Representations.'

In another visit, the discourse happened to be upon the words of JESUS CHRIST, 'This is my body:' which the Jesuit called, *Operative*, that is, That they converted the bread into the proper Body of CHRIST, by expressly declaring that it was so: and Monsieur DE MAROLLES affirmed that they were *Significative*, that is, that they did express what was already done.

Father GODINET, to prove what he said, alleged this Example. 'If the King should say to Monsieur DE CHAMILLY, "You are Marshal of France!": no one would question but that he was so.'

Our Martyr, 'That it was not to be doubted, but that if the King should make Monsieur DE CHAMILLY, Marshal of France, he would speak in the common phrase of the whole World, and say, "I make you Marshal of France!"'

This Dispute was very long. I only take notice, by these two circumstances of it, to shew the presence, and freedom, of mind of this illustrious Prisoner.

IX. During the time of the confinement of Monsieur DE MAROLLES at Strasburg, he received several Letters from his friends of the Roman Catholic Religion. I have read one from a Magistrate of Sainte Menehould, his relation and friend; and two others from that generous friend of his, who was with the Duke of MAYNE. In one of which, he told him,

That a Cousin Germain of Monsieur DE SAUMAIZE, having tried, if he could deliver a Petition to the King, to obtain leave [for Monsieur DE SAUMAIZE] to go out of the Kingdom, upon condition of leaving all his estate in his hands, consisting of 708,000 Livres [= £70,800] of rents;

thinking that this clause would further the reception of the Proposal; and that it would be received in favour of so near a relation, a man of merit, and one to whom they actually sought occasion to do good.

But they answered, That it would be a mark of great consideration and favour to the person who should meddle with it; if, upon a like demand, he were not sent to the Bastinado.

At length he directs his discourse to his friend:

Nevertheless, our ancient friendship obliges me to
 Monsieur conjure you to have pity upon your dear
 MAROLLES was Wife, your children, and yourself; and not
 then at liberty at to expose yourself to the fatal and miserable
 Lixim. consequences which might happen, if you
 were so ill advised as to think of making your escape.
 The very thoughts of it make me tremble with horror! I
 must speak plain, dear Sir! Not all my credit, and that of
 all my friends, nor our alliance, would be able to save you
 from the Gallies; nor the rest of your family from perpetual imprisonment. They will, thereupon, make use of a Severity, which nothing can be able to mollify; especially, at first, when they will support the Laws by examples.

This friend wrote this, in answer to Monsieur DE MAROLLES, who had written to him from Lixim desiring him to procure leave for him to depart out of the Kingdom; and promising, in his favour, to make him a donation of all his estate [*property*], upon condition of receiving only 5,000 Francs. The fear of falling into the hands of the Dragoons was the cause that he did not stay for the Answer; and that he did not receive this Letter till he was in the Prison of Chalons.

It was easy for him to conclude from the Answer of this generous friend of his, that he was not to promise himself any favour or moderation: but that he must look to be treated with the utmost severity.

X. It is probable that Monsieur DE CHAMILLY wrote to the Court much about the same time that our Martyr was maintaining the truth of his Faith against the Jesuits.

The 17th of January 1686, he was removed from Strasburg to Chalons with his family; where he arrived on Monday, the 28th of January. They carried them in a waggon, attended by Monsieur BOURBON, the Aide-Major who had stopped them; together with an Officer and five Troopers. He was put into the Prison of the City of Chalons; where, he observes, he continued just six weeks.

He was immediately visited by [(CHARLES G. G. DE) VINTIMILLE DU LUC,] the Bishop of CHALONS SUR MARNE; who is now [1699] Archbishop of PARIS. We must do him justice, and say, That the zeal which he hath for his Religion is as conformable to his character; as the persecuting spirit of several other Bishops is far from it.

He wrote to Monsieur DE CHAMILLY, in favour of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, so soon as he knew of his confinement at Strasburg: and, in the visit which he made him at Chalons, he told him, That if he could, he would conceal him under his robe.

During the first four weeks that our Martyr continued at Chalons, he had liberty enough. The Ecclesiastics who believed themselves able to cope with him, at first were eager to signalize themselves. But when they found his constancy to be invincible; they locked him up in a Dungeon, without suffering him to see any person for the space of thirteen days. [See page 209.]

After which, he was brought to Judgement, the 9th of March; and his sentence was pronounced against him by torch-light.

Here follows a copy of his Sentence.

Upon perusal of the Process, extraordinarily made, at the request of the Attorney General in the Bailiwick and Presidial Court of Chalons, against LOUIS DE MAROLLES, of the Pretended Reformed Religion, formerly Receiver of the Monies deposited in the Bailiwick of Sainte Meneshould: who stands accused, and is Prisoner in the Royal Gaol of the City of Chalons, *viz.*

A Letter written from the Marquis DE LOUVOIS to Monsieur DE MIROMENIL, Intendant in the Province of Champagne, dated December the 14th 1685, at the bottom of which, there is written,

A Copy; whereof the original is in our hands. Signed, MIROMENIL.

By which, among other things, the said Sieur DE MIROMENIL is first commanded from His Majesty, that Process be made and perfected against the said DE MAROLLES, ac-

cused by the Officers of this Court, according to the rigour of his Edicts and Ordinances:

Secondly. The Interrogatory of the said Prisoner, of the 28th January last past: at the bottom whereof are the Requests of the said Attorney General, requiring that the Witnesses who deposed in the said Informations taken [?], and the Decree of the Criminal Lieutenant in this Court:

Thirdly. The Information taken, the said day of January 29th last past:

Fourthly. The Requests of the said Attorney General, requiring that the Witnesses, who deposed in the said Information, may be further examined as to their Depositions; and confronted with the said DE MAROLLES, Prisoner:

Fifthly. A Judgement of the said day of January 29th, for the Examination and confronting of the said Witnesses:

Sixthly. The Examination of the said Witnesses, and confronting of the same with the Prisoner, of the same day :

Seventhly. And the conclusions and desires of the said Attorney General; the said Prisoner being heard at the Bar in the open Court :

We adjudge that the said DE MAROLLES is declared, proved, and convicted, of having been apprehended, endeavouring to go out of the Kingdom, with his family; contrary to His Majesty's Edicts and Declarations.

For reparation whereof,

We have condemned, and do condemn, the said DE MAROLLES, Prisoner, to serve the King for ever as a Slave on board the Gallies; and

his personal goods and chattels forfeited to the King, by this our Sentence, Judgement, and Decree.

Done in the Council Chamber, or open Court, the 9th of March 1686.

Signed at the bottom Seville, C. JOURDAIN, J. JOURDAIN BAUGIER, LE VAUTREL, DEU DU VIEUX DAMPIERRE, RAMBOURG: all Counsellors to the King in the Bailiwick and Presidial Court of Chalons, the year and day above mentioned.

Signed, DOMPMARTIN.

Signified and delivered the present Copy to the said LOUIS DE MAROLLES, Prisoner in the Royal Gaol of Chalons, nominated in the Sentence above transcribed: speaking to himself, that he may not plead Ignorance.

Whereas the Sergeant had forgot Monsieur DE MAROLLES's Appeal to the Parliament of Paris; he caused him to be put in mind of it, and the Sergeant corrected his mistake.

XI. This 9th of March [1686 N.S.], when the Sentence was pronounced against Monsieur DE MAROLLES, was on a Saturday: and on the Monday following, they took him out of the Dungeon, to convey him in a waggon to Paris; attended by three Archers from Chalons.

The younger of Monsieur DE MAROLLES's sons, the elder being gone from Chalons, presenting himself upon the way, without the City, to accompany his father; the Archers suffered him to ride in the waggon with him: and [they] treated the Prisoner with as much civility as could be expected from that sort of persons. They had a certain respect for him; which Virtue begets in the hearts of the most barbarous. They told him, That they did not fear he would make his escape out of their hands: and they did not mind to guard him with that severity and exactness, which they generally use towards Galley Slaves.

He arrived at the Conciergerie [at Paris] upon Thursday, the 14th of March 1686. His son went with him into the Chamber, where they immediately put the Prisoners that come from all parts, till such times as they have informed themselves of the nature of their Condemnation. The night approaching; he asked, If he might return the next day, to see his father?

They told him, He might.

But coming thither, the next morning; he was told that he might see him no more.

I find a Bill [*Memorandum*] of his hand [writing]; wherein he has written as follows.

I was put into a dark Dungeon; where I have been these two months, without seeing anybody.

On Saturday, the 11th of May 1686, I was brought before my Judges at the Court where Criminal Causes are tried; and, contrary to what is usual, my Judgement was deferred till Tuesday, the 14th of the same: and my Condemnation of Chalons was confirmed the same day.

About two a clock in the afternoon, they put irons upon my hands, put me into a coach, and I was carried to Les Tournelles; where I entered, making the 26th Gallerian [*Galley Slave*].*

Les Tournelles was a Palace in HENRY II's time; but now they send the persons thither who are condemned to the Gallies, until the departure of the Chain [*Chain-gang*].

XII. Thus is our Martyr entered upon one of the first Theatres in the World; where he maintained the Profession of his Faith in opposition to the Threats and Promises of the World with courage and mildness, to the edification of all good persons.

So soon as he was arrived at Les Tournelles, and was loaded with chains; having some spare moments to write to his family and friends, he employed those moments in comforting and rejoicing them, by giving them an Account of the state of his Soul and the tranquility of his Heart: putting his trust in GOD; and counting himself happy, in that he suffered for the glory of his Name, and of his Truth.

We have all his Letters, written with his own hand; which I shall not give to the public; because it would require a Volume to contain them: it being my design only to give the History of his Sufferings; which are undeniable proofs of the most notable effects which Hope, Piety, and the Grace of GOD, can produce in a Soul.

He says, in one of his Letters, dated from La Tournelle, the 6th of May 1686,

I was put into a dark Dungeon in the Conciergerie; where I have been buried for these two months.

On the morning of my arrival; I was twice brought

* MAROLLES seems to use the word, Galley Slave. See also page 240.—
'Gallerian', in the sense of a *Protestant* E. A.

before the Procurator General, in a chamber of the Conciergerie; and I returned such Answers to the Questions which he put to me, as JESUS CHRIST inspired me with, according to his promise. He made me another visit; and gave me this testimony, That it was admirable to see me do that for Error; which none of them, perhaps, would do for the Truth.

A little while after, the Chief President had me brought out of the Dungeon, with the greatest honour in the World. When I was come to the chamber where he waited for me; he caused all his attendance (consisting of six or seven Persons of Merit) to go out: and honoured me with a private conference, for the space of two hours. He expressed towards me much goodness; and desired to serve me: and, so soon as he was gone out, he betook himself to his company again; and said, as I was informed by one of my friends who was present, 'I come from discoursing with a good man.' These are only words: but yet they afford some comfort.

I did likewise receive several marks of the favour and goodness of the President of the Court of Justice where I was condemned. He talked with me at the door of the Dungeon; and, after some discourse, he told me, That it was with great grief and sorrow that he saw me there; That he wished that I might be seized with some light sickness, to have an occasion to take me out from thence, and to put me in the Infirmary; That, whenever I desired to speak with him, I needed but to tell the Jailer, who should acquaint him with it; and he would not fail to come to the Conciergerie to see me.

All these gentle methods had their end and view; but they were, I thank GOD! unsuccessful: GOD having put it into my heart to continue faithful to him; even unto death, if need required.

In another Letter, dated from Les Tournelles, the 2nd of July, he informs us of a combat, in which he had yielded up against his own heart and mind. He confesses that, being in the Prison of Chalons,

The tears of a Wife and family which are dear to me, and which were not able to move me at Strasburg, joined to those of two brothers in law, who came to see me at Chalons, induced me to accept certain Proposals; which were made me by two of the most eminent and considerable persons in the Province.

I have been informed that those Proposals were to desire his liberty, in order to Instruct himself more fully in the Controversies which occasion our Separation from the Church of Rome.

But a few days after, GOD having given me to understand my fault, and having afforded me an opportunity of repairing it; I embraced it with joy, fervency, and tears: and that Father of Mercies, who knows how to produce light out of darkness, made use of my infirmities thereby to give me that strength and steadfastness which I have since had. This gives me reason to hope that he will continue this favour to me unto the end; and that he will always proportion his gifts and graces to the trials to which it shall please him to expose me.

For the former missing of their end; they did, at length, make me new offers; which affected me yet less than the former: and I rejected them all, without deliberating upon them. At which, they were so enraged; that I was, next day, put into a Dungeon, where I lay thirteen days [February 24—March 8 1686] before my condemnation. This passed at Chalons.

Being in the Conciergerie at Paris, one of my friends, Tutor to the children of the King and Madame MONTESPAN, came, with His Majesty's permission, to see me. He proposed to me to go, for eight or ten months, to [JACQUES B. BOSSUET,] the Bishop of MEAUX, to get myself Instructed. This is their way of speaking.

I returned to him thanks, and assured him, That it was not in the power of Time to change my Light and Knowledge: and that I was persuaded that the Bishop of MEAUX could not satisfy me more than the other Bishops which I had already seen.

We must not pass over, without animadversion [*taking notice of*], this uprightness of Soul, this niceness of Conscience, in our Martyr. Notwithstanding that his Conscience might have solicited him, by his present miseries, and by the fear of future calamities; by the sincere affection which he bore to his Wife and family; notwithstanding this, I say, he rejects and silences all whatsoever the love of the World and of this Life, whatsoever the bonds of Flesh and Blood, could represent unto him, to suppress his Fidelity; and tarnish the lustre and glory of his Sufferings and Confession. They profer him, from the King, his liberty for eight or ten months: during which time, he might

hope, not only to go out of his Dungeon; but also [to] expect some happy change, or some favourable opportunity to escape the Chain and the Galleys, to which he was condemned for ever. How would a heart, less filled with the love of GOD, and the knowledge of its Duty in all its extent, have invented specious pretences and captious arguments to free itself from such dreadful miseries! But our Martyr, having regard to nothing but his Duty, opposes the very first assault of the Temptation, and tramples it under his feet.

It must not be imagined that this invincible Constancy is, in any manner, the effect of stubbornness and obstinacy. The Jesuits of Strasburg, and the Ecclesiastics of Chalons, were convinced that the Faith of our Martyr was accompanied with Light and Knowledge. This great man knew how to distinguish between the reasons which may engage us to seek some new instruction; and those secret motives of the heart which are not to be hearkened unto.

When there do arise, of themselves, reasons for some doubts and scruples about the Faith; then a man is necessarily, and indispensably, obliged to get himself Instructed and informed. In such a case, this care and pains is a debt which a man owes to himself: and negligence therein can proceed from nothing else but either an unreasonable stubbornness, or a criminal indifferency.

A man must likewise enquire into the Religion of his neighbours and his countrymen; either to reap advantage from their Light and Knowledge, or to communicate and impart ours to them, and help forward their salvation as much as possibly we can.

But when one enjoys a full and entire persuasion of his Faith, especially by its opposition to a doctrine whose false foundations one knows; and that the motive which puts us upon seeking Instruction proceeds only from a heart desirous to free itself from those Afflictions which are occasioned by its Religion: then this secret motive, whereof a man is convicted within himself, cannot, doubtless, be acceptable to GOD, nor procure his blessing. This is a crime. This is to tempt GOD; because it is to put a secret cheat upon one's self, and to call in question a known Truth.

Besides, as things stood in France, to talk of getting one's self Instructed, was tacitly to engage one's self to renounce one's Religion. Monsieur DE MAROLLES knew this very well; which made him reject all those offers, without bestowing a moment's deliberation upon them.

They likewise made him the same Proposals, just when he was ready to depart for the Galleys. We follow the order and course of time; and therefore when we come to speak of that, we shall hear his Answer.

But is it not much to be wondered at, that the Bishop of MEAUX would not venture himself with this illustrious Prisoner to Instruct him, either whilst he was in the Conciergerie, or at Les Tournelles. Were not they as convenient places to apply himself to the conversion of Monsieur DE MAROLLES in, as Meaux, or Gormilly the country-house of that Prelate? What reason could hinder him from exercising his charity in those places of misery and affliction? This is easily known, that [that] Bishop would run no hazard. He thought it concerned his reputation not to enter the List[s] with this learned person; without being first assured of the victory: as if the Instruction which we owe to our neighbours was like a theatrical combat; wherein all the spectators should know the party that was to be vanquished.

This brings to my mind the Saying of a certain Minister to a Courtier, being at Fontainebleau, at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This Courtier would needs engage [*induce*] him to take a dinner with him, to enter into conversation with [JACQUES B. BOSSUET,] the Bishop of MEAUX, and Father [FRANCOIS D'AIX] LA CHAISE. The Minister's answer to his importunities was, That he might do what he pleased. But he let him know, That it was his humour to answer with civility and assurance to their arguments; that therefore he must consider what he designed to do: adding, with a smile, That he believed it was not the humour and inclination of those Gentlemen to follow the chase in the plain and open field. They would be for having the beast shut up in a Park, that they might be sure of the Prize.

XIII. Let us return to the History of our Martyr. After having languished two months [March 14—May 11] in a Dungeon; he was brought before the Court on Saturday, the 11th of May 1686. We are informed of what passed there, by a Letter which he wrote to his Sister-in-law, dated from Les Tournelles, the 17th of May.

I have been two full months with seven miserable wretches, condemned either to the Gallies, or to be hanged, or to be broken upon the Wheel, in a Dungeon so dark that I could not well discern their faces. They have all been troubled with rheums [*catarrh*] and fluxes [*dysentery*]: which GOD hath preserved me from; although I am old, and they are all of them young.

The 11th current, I was taken out of the Dungeon, contrary to my expectation, for I expected that they would let me rot there; and brought to the Criminal Court, to be judged.

Monsieur the President of the House, who was at the

head of my Judges, ordered me to sit down on the Prisoners' Stool; and took my oath to speak the truth. I answered to all, whatsoever he desired to know of me. After which, he made me an Exhortation; and bade me think seriously with myself, That it was not they, that should judge me: and that the Declaration of the King did expressly mention my condemnation.

I returned him thanks for his goodness which he expressed to me, and told him, That I was in no great trouble to deliberate; that my resolution was fixed long ago; and that I resigned myself to the Court, and was ready to suffer the penalties to which they should think fit to condemn me. That how great and severe soever they may be; they would be less uneasy to me, than to act against the lights of my Conscience, and to live like a hypocrite.

They ordered me thereupon to withdraw: and I was conveyed back to my Dungeon.

I expected to be conducted in the afternoon to Les Tournelles: but they deferred my Judgement till Tuesday following, the 14th of May.

Three or four hours after, they came to carry me away. They put manacles upon my hands; and so conducted me in a coach to Les Tournelles.

It is not known, for what reason they delayed, contrary to what is usual, to pronounce the Sentence of Monsieur DE MAROLLES. It is probable that the Court designed to inform the King of the constant resolution of our Martyr; and to make some new attempts in his favour. Indeed, I find, in a Letter of Recommendation written from Paris to Monsieur DE COURSELLES, Governor of Toulon, in favour of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, that his Sentence of Condemnation to the Gallies had been confirmed at the Parliament of Paris; but after such a manner as had procured pain and trouble to all the Judges; that the Chief President and Procurator General did intend to represent to the King all the circumstances of the affair, and the merit of the person: but as the Declarations were formal, the King would make no exception.

If the truth of the matter were known, perhaps one might find the Clergy hastening his condemnation; while an august Parliament deferred it, in order to solicit his pardon. So true it is, that the Genius and disposition of the Roman Catholic Religion, in its most trusty Ministers, is a barbarous and unmerciful Genius; which breathes forth nothing but Blood and Violence, always contrary to Christian Charity and Moderation. But be that as it will, he was at length sentenced;

1686. A chain, weighing 30 lbs., put on his neck.

and the Sentence of the Presidial of Chalons was confirmed.

Let us hear the following part of his Letter.

The Governor of [Les] Tournelles, knowing who I was, and being informed of my crime, caused me to be treated with as much gentleness as can be expected in that place. They were contented to put a fetter upon one foot.

But, the next morning, he came to tell me that he had just received Orders which very much afflicted him; which was that the King had commanded that the chain should be put upon my neck.

I thanked him for his goodness which he expressed to me: and told him, that I was ready to pay a respectful obedience to the Orders of His Majesty. I laid aside my hat. They took the chain from off my foot: and put on me another about my neck; which doth not, I believe, weigh less than thirty pounds.

Thus you see, my dear Sister, the state and condition which the wise Providence of GOD hath chosen and allotted for me, out of a thousand others in which he might have placed me. I expect from his mercy, strength and constancy to suffer all for his glory and my own salvation. Do not afflict yourself at my condition, my dear Sister! It is more happy than you think for! Weep not for me! Keep your tears for so many miserable wretches who live not so contentedly as I do! Grant me the assistance of your prayers! I assure you, that I do not forget you in mine.

And, in another Letter, of the 16th of May, i.e. the day after the chain was put on his neck, he says, after such another Relation as that before mentioned,

Thus, Sir, (I suppose he wrote to Monsieur [PIERRE] JURIEU) you have an Abridgement of my Misery, and to speak more truly, of my Glory: for I continually give thanks to GOD for the honour which he hath done me, in not thinking me unworthy to suffer for his Name's sake. Let your prayers accompany mine, to obtain from the mercy of GOD, his succour and assistance so long as it shall please him to continue my Sufferings and Afflictions!

Eight days after that, the Procurator General went thither: and we are informed, by a Note written with our Martyr's own hand, of what passed between that famous Magistrate and himself.

The 24th of May 1686, the Procurator General came to visit those who were condemned to the Gallies.

He addressed himself to me; and seeing the chain upon my neck, he told me, That it was with grief that he saw me in so miserable a condition; and that he did greatly desire to deliver me out of it. That I was so much the more worthy of pity and compassion; because it was my prejudices which plunged both myself and family into misery.

I answered him, That I should be very much to blame, if it were so: but that it was my opinion that, in cases which concern our salvation, we must despise and neglect whatsoever relates only to this Life; and that it was this thought and consideration which induced me to bear my Evils with patience.

He replied, That he was persuaded that I was right as to my intentions, that I had a sincere zeal for the glory of GOD and my own salvation; but that I wanted Knowledge: and that he would come again to see and talk with me, within a little time; that there was nothing which he would not either do, or give, to deliver me out of my misery.

I told him, That I did, with much thankfulness and respect, receive the tokens of his goodness which he was pleased to shew me.

After which, he departed.

Three days after, he received another visit; of which we have likewise an Account written with his own hand.

Monday, the 27th of May 1686, between seven and eight a clock in the evening, a Councillor belonging to the Court of La Tournelle, who sat next to, and on the right hand, of the President of the House, when I was brought into the Court before my Trial, came to visit the Prisoners at Les Tournelles.

After he was gone out, Monsieur LE ROI, our Head Keeper, took me out of the place where we are, and brought me into the Chamber, which is called the Council Chamber: where the Councillor waited for me. I had my Chain about my neck.

He told me, with all the ingenuity and candour in the World, 'All our Assembly, Sir, are touched with grief for the misery to which we know you are reduced; and I come to solicit you to deliver yourself out of it. We know that

you have lived like a very honest man; and that you proceed from a good Family. Consider with, and examine, yourself, by the rules both of Policy and Conscience. Before seven or eight months are at an end, your Religion shall be no more mentioned in France! Even at present, there are very severe Edicts against the New Converts, who do not do their duty: and in other places [*as Spain*], your Religion has been extinguished this 130 years [*i.e. since 1556*]. But I do not come hither to dispute with you about it. You know that it hath subsisted and continued in the Kingdom, only upon Sufferance and Toleration; and out of a necessity of appeasing and putting an end to the Troubles. It lies wholly in your power to advance yourself higher than you have ever yet been; and to procure peace to your family.

I answered, That I was very much obliged to their Illustrious Assembly for passing so favourable a judgement upon me, and for the goodness which they expressed towards me; and to himself in particular, for the marks which he gave me of his goodwill; [and] that I did return them all a thousand thanks: but that nothing should ever be able to make me do any [thing] against my Conscience; and that I had but little regard for all the Advantages of this Life. That if it were true that I was in an error, and it should please God to convince me of it, by giving me new Light and Knowledge; I should not fail to follow them with much zeal and joy, out of the sole view of the Glory of GOD.

I said moreover, That the Edict of Nantes was to reward the good services which that King, HENRY IV., had received from the Protestants; rather than to appease the Troubles, which were then allayed; the Arms being laid down, and the King in a peaceable possession of the Crown.

I said nothing of Religion; because of what he said to me, That he was not come to dispute with me about it.

This good Councillor went away a little after; desiring me to think seriously upon what he had said unto me.

Monsieur LE ROI told me, as he carried me back, That this Councillor was sent as Commissioner, by the Court of La Tournelle, to speak to me, from the part [*on the behalf*] of that famous Society; who were never touched with so much trouble and compassion for any person, as they were for me.

The Councillor's name was Monsieur REYNAUD.

I must advertise the Reader that the Chamber of La Tournelle is a Chamber, or Court, belonging to the Parliament of Paris, where criminals are tried : to the end that it may not be confounded with La Tournelle, or rather Les Tournelles, whither they send the persons condemned to the Gallies until their departure. There is, at present, in that Parliament, La Tournelle Civile, and La Tournelle Criminelle.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES wrote several Letters from Les Tournelles to his Wife, children, and friends. He sent one, dated the 16th of May, to Monsieur JURIEU ; to which that Pastor returned an Answer the 27th of the same month. He received an Answer from our Martyr, the 2nd of July 1686 ; who assured him that his Letters did tend to the consolation of himself, and [of] all those to whom he could communicate them. And after having returned him thanks for his good advice ; he tells him

The manner of my Suffering, and the good Eye [*opinion*] with which GOD makes me regard all my Sufferings, persuades me that he will give me the grace to continue faithful unto him ; even unto death. I do not fix my eyes upon the condition in which I am ; which troubles and afflicts those that see it much more than it does myself. I place them solely upon the rewards which GOD has promised to all those that fear his name. I am certain that the light Afflictions with which he is pleased to visit me, will produce in me, according to his divine promise, an eternal weight of exceeding great Glory. I comfort myself, because the Sufferings of this present time are not to compare with the future Glory which is to be revealed in us ; and I put my trust in what Saint JAMES says, 'Blessed is the man who endures temptation ; for, when he shall have been tried, he shall receive the crown of incorruptible glory and immortality which GOD reserves for his Elect. [i. 12.] I rejoice in that our Saviour doth pronounce those Blessed, who suffer for Righteousness' sake [Matt. v. 10.].

Thus, Sir, I make all my glory and happiness to consist in this, That my Redeemer doth not count me unworthy to suffer for his Name's sake. I fix my confidence on the Eternal Rock ! I put all my trust in him ! I expect help and succour from him alone ! I persuade myself that nothing shall be able to move me ; fixed on so solid a foundation.

He put in practice what he so well wrote in an excellent little Treatise, of his own handwriting, upon Providence; which he composed, without doubt, in the time of his confinement. The whole Letter may be seen inserted in the 'Pastoral Letter' of Monsieur JURIEU, in the year 1686.

I proceed to what concerns the History of his Sufferings. He says, a little lower,

That Sir, is my usual occupation; as much as the infamous place wherein I am confined, will permit. I call it, infamous; because there is not an honest or virtuous word to be heard there. It resounds with nothing but filthiness and execrable blasphemies. They make such a noise and tumult all day, and for the greatest part of the night, that I could scarce heretofore meet with one happy moment to lift up my heart to GOD. I was so overwhelmed with drowsiness, that I often fell asleep before I had made an end of my Prayer. When I awaked, about three or four a clock of the morning, I endeavoured to keep myself awake, that I might, whilst the place was free from noise, pay my homage to GOD with some attention.

I have [had] more liberty, since these ten or twelve days. For, when it is fine weather, they suffer the Chain to go out, and abide in a Court all day; except it be six of us who are kept locked up. I spend one part of this time in reading, meditation, and prayer: and I do likewise take the liberty to sing some Psalms, as I have done in all places of my imprisonment, without ever being complained of for it.

Thus you see, in two words, an Abridgement of our Misery.

We lie, fifty-three of us, in a place which is not above thirty feet in length and nine in breadth. There lies on the right side of me a sick peasant: with his head to my feet, and my feet to his head. There are likewise others. There is scarce one amongst us, who doth not envy the condition of several dogs and horses. This makes us all desire that the Chain [*Chain-gang*] may depart quickly. They conceal this from us: but, as far as we can judge, it will depart next Saturday [, July 20 1686].

We were yesterday ninety-five condemned persons in number: but two of them died that day, and one to-day.

We have still fifteen or sixteen sick; and there are but few who escape it. I have had five fits of the Tertian Fever:

but, I thank GOD! I am very well recovered of it; and in a disposition to make the voyage [*journey*] to Marseilles. We shall take in some of our brethren at Burgundy: who are condemned to the Chain for the same Cause for which I am; [and] who have the honour to be the first condemned by the Parliament of Paris.

We likewise meet with two other Letters, which a German Minister wrote to him in the Latin tongue, full of instruction and consolation.

In one of the Answers which our Martyr made him, he begs the assistance of his prayers,

Hoping (saith he) that, by the means of the powerful assistance which several other Servants of GOD as well as you, do afford me, my Sufferings will end in the glory of our Creator, the edification of our brethren, and my own salvation.

When I reflect (saith he) on the merciful Providence of GOD towards me, I am ravished with admiration; and do evidently discover the secret steps of Providence: who hath formed me, from my youth, after a requisite manner to bear what I suffer. I have always had but little love for those things which Worldlings esteem and admire; and more care to provide for my Soul than my Body. Although I do acknowledge, to my shame and confusion, that I have not served so faithfully as I ought to have done; and that I have not been so thankful as I ought to have been, for so many benefits and favours which he hath conferred on me: I have always had a zeal for his Glory and Truth.

And these are those holy seeds which he hath had the goodness to preserve in my heart; which, in this time of desolation, began to produce in me the excellent Truths; whose sweetness affords me a pleasure, which I am not able to utter and express to you.

It is this happy condition in which I am, which assures me that GOD will finish the work which he has begun in me: and I believe I may say, with his faithful Apostles, that I am confident that neither Angel, nor Principality, nor Power, nor Height, nor Depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature, shall ever be able to separate me from the love which GOD hath shewn me in his Son JESUS CHRIST. [Rom. viii. 38, 39.]

I can truly and sincerely say, Sir, that the Prisons and dark Dungeons in which I have been confined, for above

1686. 'My threatened Evils do not at all terrify me.'

these six months, and the chain which I now carry about my neck, have been, so far from shaking the holy resolution which GOD hath put into my heart, that it hath only strengthened and confirmed it. I have sought GOD in quite a different method in my Afflictions, than ever I did in a state of worldly prosperity: and I may say, That he hath suffered himself to be found by me. He hath very delightfully communicated himself to me by the sweetness of his consolations. In the midst of the transitory Afflictions, which it is his will that I should suffer, he hath made me to taste of solid good things.

The Evils with which I am threatened, do not at all terrify me. If they are violent; I am not in a condition to bear up long against them: and so a Christian death will put a happy period [*end*] thereto. If they are moderate; I shall have reason to bless our GOD for it: who shall continue his favour and goodness towards me. These considerations make me look upon the time to come, with the eye of constancy and assurance.

It appears by these few Extracts which we give of the Letters of that blessed Martyr, how great was the tranquility and assurance of that Christian and heroic Soul.

It was therefore to no purpose to renew the attack; to pervert, or stagger, a heart so full of knowledge, fervour, and piety. We have already observed, That it had been proposed to him to spend eight or ten months with the Bishop of MEAUX. They renew the charge, by proposing an unlimited time.

How great and dangerous was that Temptation! Our Martyr is under the Chain; and has a prospect of a dreadful futurity [*future*]. He is solicited, not only by his own Flesh; but also by the sight of his afflicted Wife, and by his fatherless children which he leaves in the midst; insomuch that the natural love of Life, the sense of Afflictions, the prospect of the dreadful Miseries which his condition represented to him, Conjugal Love, and Paternal Affection, did all of them combine to induce, and constrain, him to accept a Proposal; which seemed, at first, to oblige him to nothing.

They offer him his liberty, only upon condition that he would promise to endeavour to get himself Instructed; without setting any limited time. He might flatter himself that they would open a door for his deliverance, without complying with the King's Orders. But his Soul, faithful to his GOD, filled with his holy resolutions, looks upon it as a crime to accept a Proposal; from which there might be drawn the

least consequence prejudicial to the certainty of his Faith. He is in the presence of his Enemies. The combat is begun. He is resolved to win the victory; without so much as hearing talk of returning into his Tent. He tramples the World under his feet; and will not allow that Enemy time to recover new strength.

One of his friends did first make this Proposal to him, from Monsieur MORELL, a rich Partisan, or Farmer of the King's Revenues, at Vitry: who promised to procure his deliverance from the Chain the next day; if he would take even an unlimited time, to apply himself in good earnest to get Instructed. He assured him, What should be promised him, should be faithfully observed and performed. This passed about the end of June.

Other persons renewed the attack on the first day of July; as he informs us, by a Note written with his own hand: wherein he gives us the reasons for his refusal.

At Les Tournelles, Wednesday, the 17th of July 1686, ten or twelve days before our departure from thence, an Advocate of the Court of Parliament came to see me, accompanied with a Lady who was unknown to me, and Madame LAMBLIN who had done me the honour of a visit in the Prison at Chalons. She was the Wife of a Treasurer of France. She testified, by her tears, that she was sensibly touched with the condition in which she saw me; and that she wished, with all her heart, that she could procure my deliverance out of the misery which I suffered.

The discourse fell upon the Proposal which had been made me some days before, viz., To go to the Bishop of MEAUX to be Instructed. This is their way of speaking.

The Advocate began to speak upon this point; and employed all his Rhetoric to prove that I ought to accept of that offer: and said, That he did not believe that I could offer any sufficient reasons to the contrary.

When he had made an end of his discourse, and had given me place to speak; I answered, That I thought myself very much obliged to do as I did, for the following reasons:

I said that in the Conferences which I had had with the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits at Strasburg; they had not given me any manner of satisfaction in my Objections, which I made to them. That the same Answer, or much to the same purpose at least, had been given me at Chalons: and I had read the same things in the Works of the famous Monsieur [ANTOINE] ARNAULD: and since they had not

satisfied me in that Author, they could not afford me more satisfaction elsewhere.

That I was very strongly persuaded of the truth of my Faith; about which I had no manner of doubt: and I feared [that] it was tempting GOD to accept the offer which they made me. That, on the other hand, the space of eight months that I had been confined, hath enured [*accustomed*] me to Sufferings; that, by that means, GOD had discovered to me the vanity of this Life, and [of] all that is here below: that thereby he had broken asunder most of the bands and ligaments which engaged me to the World; and had put into my heart a great disrelish for the Earth, and an ardent desire after Heaven. That I esteemed this state sufficiently happy to think seriously to preserve it.

I added, That all the civilities which I was persuaded I should receive from so famous and noble a Prelate, and the considerable alteration which would happen to my condition, would make me, within a few days, forget all my miseries; and would root in my heart the Love of the World and the Pleasures of Life more strongly perhaps than ever: to plunge me again into misery; without any certainty of receiving so much favour and assistance from GOD therein, as I have already received till this present.

That, for those reasons, I was resolved to follow my Vocation; and to end my days in Suffering, if it was the will of GOD.

That, as to the rest, I did with great acknowledgements and thankfulness, receive the tokens which he gave me of his charity and affection.

Since then, he came several times to see me; always backing what he had advanced, with the strongest arguments he could. The last time that he saw me, which was on Monday, the 15th of July 1686, he told Monsieur LE ROI, our Head Keeper, that he came by the orders of the Procurator General.

And, the next day, the Procurator General honoured me with a visit, and told me, That he came to try yet again, if, before our departure for Marseilles, there were yet any room left to rescue me from the Chain [*Chain-gang*] and misery: and asked me, If there were no alteration in me?

And when I returned him the thanks due to his civility; I told him, That all my disgrace had wrought no change

upon the disposition of my Heart; no more than upon that of my Mind. He then departed.

The Chain is to depart next Saturday, the 20th of this month.

The more one reflects upon the condition of our Martyr, for the space of two months since his condemnation, till his departure from Paris, the more shall one admire his virtue, strength, and piety, in this so dangerous and obstinate a Combat which he had with the World.

I do not find that any Ecclesiastic, in all that great City, sought to have any Conference with Monsieur DE MAROLLES. This is to be wondered at; that, whilst the Members of Parliament expressed so much pity and compassion for that illustrious Prisoner, the Clergy should look upon him with so much indifference. But there is a great deal of reason to believe that they were afraid of this holy and learned man.

XIV. We have given an idea of his piety and his conflicts. We must lay him open on all sides; and consider his great Soul in all the different occurrences and concerns of life. His GOD possessed, and wholly filled, him; after which, the cares of his Family succeeded in their order.

Upon his first coming to Les Tournelles; he acquainted his Wife, with that freedom of spirit which he generally used, the 14th of May 1686.

I informed you, my dear Child! that my Judgement was confirmed this morning, by Sentence of the Court, and that I am at present at Les Tournelles, with Monsieur LE FAVRY; which is no small comfort to me. Although I have a great desire to see you; yet it is so hot, that I advise you to stay till tomorrow morning: but send to me [his sons,] DE MAROLLES and his brother, that I may have the satisfaction to see them; and receive a true and exact account of your state and condition. I meet here with something more agreeable, and more grievous, than the Dungeon: but we must submit to all.

His Wife, under the greatest affliction that can be imagined, visited him as often as she could, and put her hand through the grate to wash the wounds, which the chain had made upon him, with water in which musket balls had been steeped.

She heard, one day, that the Clergy had spread a report in Paris, That he was besides himself. This infamous Fraud was contrived to

allay the wonder and admiration which the constancy of our Martyr raised in all that great City.

So soon as he was informed of it; he proposed a Problem to the Learned, to the end that they might exercise themselves in the Solution of it: and thereby judge of the situation of his mind, and of the nature of the calumny which had been forged against him.

I have not this Problem at present: but it did appear by a Letter of his dear friend and scholar, who was then with the Duke of MAYNE, that our Martyr (being always free in his chains; always of an even temper, and like to himself) answered to the Questions which were proposed to him, just as if he had been at ease in his Closet [*Study*].

This friend of his, said to him. I perceive there is an error in the Solution of the Problem which I sent you, upon the Condition which I pretended to add to yours. It is true, my Four Numbers have all the requisite and necessary conditions: but it is not true, that their Sum, being made equal to a Number given, would produce the same effect with respect to the Conditions annexed. Nevertheless, I am well enough satisfied that your Problem is resolved thereby. I am going to reduce it into Lines; and make a Geometrical Problem of it, to puzzle the ARCHIMEDES of our Time.

Thus I intend to propose it:

To divide a Line given into Four Lines commensurable among themselves, and to the whole; and which may be of such a nature that the difference of any two, taken at pleasure, may likewise be commensurable: and moreover between the difference of any two parts, taken likewise at pleasure, to assign a Mean Proportional, which may be commensurable to all the Lines mentioned in the Problem.

One may conclude from these words, as also from the Report of Monsieur [ABRAHAM] DE MOIVRE, belonging to the Royal College [*Society*] of London, who was acquainted with Monsieur DE MAROLLES during his confinement, that the Problem which he proposed, was that which Monsieur [JACQUES] OZANAM printed in these words.

To find out Four Numbers, whose Number may be equal to a Number given; and such, that the Difference of any Two of them whatsoever, may be a Square Number.

Those who know what application of mind this Science requires, will be able to judge of the strength of our Martyr. But he had taken the good course; and thrown himself into the arms of Providence, and peaceably submitted to the will of GOD.

XV. **A**T LENGTH, THE Chain [*Chain-gang*] departed from Paris, on Saturday, the 20th of July [1686]. Monsieur DE MAROLLES had then the Fever. He had dreaded his sorrowful separation from his Wife: and his Wife, cast down and sick with affliction, could not be present at his sorrowful departure.

They had not above the breadth of a Key [*Quay*] to cross, to enter into the boat. The Gallerians [*Galley-slaves*] go two by two, carrying a long chain which passes through their particular chains in rings. Our Martyr was permitted, by favour, to be in the last rank. In those few steps which he had to take, he met his children; who cast themselves upon his neck, and embraced him. It is hard to represent this sorrowful Adieu, without grief and emotion.

One may easily imagine that this famous Gallerian, who, some months since, made so much noise in Paris, drew a great concourse of people. Every one seemed touched with his misery: and an ancient Roman Catholic Merchant, breaking through the throng, came and embraced and encouraged him; offering him his purse. This man hath since given glory to GOD; and retired with his family to London, there to make Profession of the Truth.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES wrote from Dijon to one of his friends in Paris. The Letter is dated the 30th of July; ten days after his departure from Les Tournelles.

Our treatment (saith he) is extremely prejudicial to me. I dissembled my condition as much as possible at my departure. I had the Fever on Thursday, the 18th of July; which continued on Friday, and was more violent on Saturday. I set out, therefore, in this condition; after having resigned myself to the will of GOD: and I have not yet got rid of this Fever; which hath been continual, and without intermission. I may tell you, my dear Sister, that it brought me even to Death's door: but GOD, in his infinite goodness, hath raised me up again; and I am now past danger.

Our Captain had compassion on me; and, the second day, he had me loosed from the Chain; and kept me always in his chamber, or in the boat with him. I must confess that, in this voyage [*journey*] it was, that I perceived, in

good earnest, that I suffered. But, notwithstanding this, my dear Sister, bless GOD with me that he was pleased to grant me such a speedy deliverance. I perceive my strength sensibly to return; and I hope that, before I arrive at Marseilles, I shall be perfectly well recovered.

It did appear by all the Letters of this holy man, that he was so far from augmenting, that he lessened, his Miseries; that he might not aggravate the affliction of his Wife. So that when he speaks of his miserable condition; one must be persuaded that it was much harder than he speaks of. Of this, we have a proof in a Letter which he wrote from Marseilles, a little while after his arrival. It is dated the 25th of August.

As I left Paris sick of a Fever; it hath accompanied me to this place. I have undergone incredible fatigue, and have been twice at the point of death: in which condition, I lay upon planks without any straw under me; and my hat for a pillow.

When we left the water; it was much worse for us. We were forced to be jumbled, fourteen hours a day, in a waggon, for all those roads are very rough and stony: and [, at night,] thrust into Dungeons. Thus, my dear and true friend, GOD having thus proved me, and furnished me with necessary assistance: he hath, at length, brought me here, pretty free from the Fever; but very weak. It is a pitiful sight to see my leanness.

And, what is terrible, at my arrival, for want of examining into my condition, they sent me away into the Galley. I was conducted by two of our Guards; who supported me: and I was no sooner come thither, but I was chained as the other Galley Slaves were. But several Officers, coming to see our Chain, had compassion on me: especially Monsieur P., from whom I received infinite favours. They spake to the Major [of the Galley]; who sent a Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*] to see me: upon whose report I was let loose, and sent to the Hospital; where I now am.

It is a fine place; admirably well ordered. I live almost wholly at my own charges. We are very well served in it; and, in short, I am very well satisfied with it. I begin to eat, and to recover my strength by degrees; and, with GOD's assistance, there are hopes of my perfect recovery within a short time.

I know not, if it hath pleased GOD to hear the ardent prayers which I have put up to him for the success of the Voyage of Versailles; and I wait with extreme impatience to hear about it.

By this 'Voyage of Versailles,' he meant his Family's departure out of the Kingdom; which gave him great uneasiness.

I am, (saith he, in a Letter of the 30th of September) in daily concern for my poor Family. May it please GOD to put a speedy end to the uneasiness which I have about it!

He was about three weeks in the Galley Slaves' Hospital. He wrote a Letter of the 15th of September; by which it appeared that he was there still.

The miserable Voyage [*Journey*] which I have made, hath learnt me what it is to suffer. It is there that I begin to feel my Sufferings. Let us therefore comfort ourselves, my dear Child! since they are past and gone; and I am in a place of rest. I live very contentedly in the company of Monsieur LE FEVRE. We are always together. Our beds join to one another. We make use of but one pot. Fresh supplies are daily offered to Monsieur LE FEVRE and myself. One Monsieur M., a Banker, hath proffered us money; if we have occasion for it. Monsieur LA F. hath likewise written to me twice, to offer me some. But I thank GOD, we do not yet want it. Monsieur P. hath my little treasure in his hands. He hath provided me a Steward at the Hospital, to take care to buy me whatsoever I want; and who reckons with Monsieur P. for his expenses. Thus you see, my dear Heart! that I have nothing else to do; but to pray to GOD, and to be cheerful.

We see how much this great man made of that little rest and ease which he had, to comfort his poor Wife. He proceeds,

Let this comfort you; and give you occasion not to trouble yourself at my condition! For it is easy, by the grace of GOD. I have further to tell you, That, in a visit which was made here a little after our arrival, I was declared, 'Invalid'; in regard to the infirmities which you know I am subject to.

Monsieur [(JEAN BAPTISTE) COLBERT, Marquis] DE SEIGNELAY [, Minister of the Marine,] sent, eight or ten days since, Three Hundred Pardons for Galley Slaves.

XVI. One would wonder to see that, among so great a number of Pardons, there was not one for our Martyr: although great intercession was made for him; and his condemnation had troubled his Judges and all honest men. But it seems as if they had made it their business, and were in honour obliged, to triumph over his constancy and piety.

He tells us, a little above, that he was declared, 'Invalid,' upon the account of his known and secret infirmities. Nevertheless, we find him, a few days after, on board the Galleys. There are Letters of his, which he wrote on the 23rd and 30th of September, from on board the Old Galley, 'Saint Jean': where he says.

It is designed, next week, to embark 150 Invalid Galley Slaves for America. I was ranked in this number: but one of my friends told the Intendant, That I was [just] recovered from three great fits of sickness, which I have had since my departure from Les Tournelles.

This is what he said to his son. He proceeds in the Letter; of which we give some extracts.

The favour which he grants me is, that he reserves me for a Second Embarkation; which is to be made towards the middle of November. The advantage that I shall gain by this delay is, That he, who spoke to the Intendant for me, hath the direction of the vessel in which I shall make the voyage. Fear not, Sir! This is not able to shake my constancy! GOD, by his grace, hath fixed it upon too solid foundations! I can sincerely assure you, that I heard this news with as little emotion, as I am now in about it.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that this kind of Persecution was a terrible Temptation. So long as one is in the Kingdom [of France], one flatters one's self, one hopes, one receives a little succour and comfort from one's friends and relations. The [Protestant] Church whose eyes are upon us, the edification of our brethren, and all things, conduce to animate and encourage us to the Conflict. But to see one's self deprived of all those powerful motives at once; to go into a New World, there to be buried as it were, separated from the rest of mankind, in a state worse than that of a Slave; abandoned to the discretion of a man, who goes to the end of the world in quest of riches, and who (without any regard to Humanity) treats his Slaves in proportion to their labour, and the profit which he reaps thereby. Good GOD! what an Egypt is this to those faithful Martyrs who are transported thither!

Monsieur DE MAROLLES, notwithstanding, received this news, without any emotion.

It is no matter to me (saith he) whether I die by land or sea, in Europe or America. I am persuaded that all kinds of death of GOD's children are precious in his eyes. I do likewise believe that my death would be more edifying, and more glorious, if it should happen during my bonds. I have fully resigned myself to the will of GOD. I am persuaded that all states and conditions in which it shall please him to put me, are those states in which he judges I shall glorify him better than in an infinite number of others, [to] which he might allot me.

Speaking to his son, concerning his embarking towards the middle of November, he saith,

You must not be afflicted! This was decreed in Heaven, before it was appointed on Earth; and we must all be persuaded that it is for our good, that GOD is thus pleased to order it,

He spoke, in this Letter, of Monsieur LE FEVRE, his companion in bonds; and it were to be desired that some one would give us the History of his Sufferings,*

Those two famous Martyrs did comfort and encourage each other. I have read a Letter of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, in which he says of Monsieur LE FEVRE, that he wrote 'like a Divine' [, see page 244].

They separated them, at their departure out of the Hospital, to put them on board of different Galleys. Monsieur DE MAROLLES tells his son to acquaint Monsieur LE FEVRE's relations,

That he was, last Saturday, (this Letter is dated the 30th September 1686) removed from the 'Reale,' where he was, since our coming out of the Hospital; and put on board an armed Galley, called, the 'Magnifique.' He is distinguished from other Galley Slaves; and placed in the stern.

In his Letter of the 23rd of September to his Wife, he diverted himself, with giving her the description of his Galley Slave's habit [*uniform*]. We shall make no difficulty in giving some Extracts of it, which show his great Soul in his natural state, and in the familiarity of a Husband who opens his breast to his Wife.

This was written in 1699. Monsieur LE FEVRE died in 1702. His Life appeared in French at Rotterdam in 1703; and the English

Translation of it, which was printed in London in 1704, is reprinted at pp. 303-412. E.A.

I live at present altogether alone. They bring me food from abroad [*outside*], bread and meat; at the rate of nine sous [= 4½d.] a day. I am furnished with wine in the Galley for nothing; and with some of the King's bread. He that supplies me with wine eats with me; and he is a very honest man. I am treated with civility by all on board the Galley; seeing that the Officers visit me.

I am getting a quilt made to-day. I intend to buy sheets; and am going to work to procure my ease. You will say, perhaps, That I am an ill manager: but I have had enough of lying upon the hard boards, ever since Tuesday till this time.

If you were to see me in my fine Galley Slave habit [*uniform*], you would be ravished with admiration! I have a fine little red Jacket, made just after the fashion of the Carriers' Frocks of the Ardennes. It is put on like a Shirt: for it is open but half-way before. I have likewise a fine red Cap, two pairs of Breeches, two Shirts with threads as big as my finger, and Stockings.

My Clothes of Liberty are not lost; and if it would please the King to shew me favour, I would take them again.

We have the honestest Patron of all the Gallies. He treats me with all manner of civility and respect. He will put me into what place of the Galley I please: and he hath promised me that, when it is cold, he will let me lie in his cabin. Let all these succours, which GOD affords me, comfort and rejoice thee! I am already used to the place where I am, as if I had been there all my life-time.

I am better here than in the Hospital. We enjoy a good air; for there is none of us sick, neither are we pestered with ill scents.

He mentions, at the bottom, his uneasiness about the 'Voyage of Versailles.'

One may judge, by the cheerfulness with which he describes his misery, of the greatness of his Soul, the liberty of his Mind, and the tranquility of his Heart.

We must likewise conclude, that, in speaking of his Afflictions and Sufferings, he doth rather lessen than aggravate them; so that, when he gives a discription of his Misery, we ought to believe it upon his bare word; although there wanted other testimonies.

Governor, the Intendant, the Captains of the Galleys, and the Chiefs of the Squadrons. They had been acquainted with the merit of Monsieur DE MAROLLES; and were touched with his virtue. Every one would have been glad to enjoy his company.

Much about that time, when the report was spread in Holland, of his Embarkment for America; a Pastor, one of his relations and friends, wrote to him upon this subject: and intreated him, at the bottom of his Letter, to send him the Problem which he had sent to Paris; because several learned and curious persons, and particularly amongst others the famous Monsieur [CHRISTIAAN] HUYGHENS, desired to have it.

He returned this friend of his an Answer, after the most Christian and edifying manner. After which, he spoke to him about the Problem, and gave him two or three Solutions of it; desiring them to excuse him, in that he did not find out more, by reason of the noise which the Galley Slaves made in the Galley.

But this Letter is lost.

We have taken notice that our Martyr lessened the account of his miseries, instead of aggravating it. Of this we find an unexceptionable proof in a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, the 6th of October, in which he declares to her his trouble, because the Report of the ill usage, which he had received, had been spread abroad.

It would (saith he) have troubled me very much to have tarried any longer in the Hospital. The corrupted air, which one sucks in there, would perhaps have flung me into a relapse: and I enjoy here a very healthful air. I am exceedingly more strong than I was at my entrance here. I am sincere in what I write to you; and I disguise nothing from you. For a proof of which, I am going to tell you that which will give you trouble; whereas it ought to afford you joy: for the remembrance of past Evils is agreeable. I tell you ingenuously [*candidly*] that the iron which I wear on my foot, although it doth not weigh three pounds, did trouble me much more at first, than that which you saw about my neck at Les Tournelles. This proceeded only from my great leanness at that time: but, now that I have recovered my former good state, it is nothing so with me. Besides that we learn, every day, to place it so as it may give us the least uneasiness.

And in another Letter, which he wrote to his son, the next day, being the 7th of October 1686, he says,

I know not, (saith he) my dear Child! what M. thought of, when he gave an Account of the ill treatment which they give us. At least, I am certain that he ought not to have comprehended me therein; for certainly I have been used very well in the Hospital.

I was visited, almost daily, by Monsieur F., Controller General of the Gallies, a man of understanding and credit. He came, about seven days ago, to see me in the Galley where I am: and we continued in discourse together, for the space of almost two hours, in the stern. He always offered me money upon his own credit, and from his friends: as likewise did Monsieur JAM——; and Monsieur SEL——, another Officer. You see, therefore, that one must be very hard to be satisfied, if, in the condition in which one is, one is not contented therewith. You will see, by the Letter which I wrote to your mother, on the 23rd of September, that I am very well here.

I have not met with any trouble; excepting the first two or three days that I was chained upon a bench with two Galley Slaves, day and night. But there are, at first, certain Rules to be observed; and, I thank GOD! they did not last long.

For, since that time, I have been let loose all the day; and have had liberty to walk to and fro, as much as I would, on the Galley.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES did speak with discretion, not to cast his Family into the excess of afflictions: but this is no argument that one should not reflect upon the rigour which they exercised towards him.

He had been declared, 'Invalid,' when he was in Hospital; and incapable to serve, because of his secret infirmities. They had put him, as 'Invalid,' in the List for an Embarkment for America. Nevertheless, a few days after this, they take him out of the Hospital, to chain him, day and night, for the space of three days, upon a form in the Galley. It is hard to penetrate into the mystery of so unequal a conduct. We cannot, at present, give the reason of this change: nor know if it were by a secret Order from [the] Court, which intended to tire out this blessed Martyr; or whether it was the compassion of some General Officers, who would exempt him from the Embarkment for America, which was to be made in November.

Although it should be so; our Martyr himself was not able to see into this mystery; and did not then understand this good intention, if there were any in it. For he says to his son, in the same Letter,

He is anxious about the 'Voyage of Versailles.' 1686.

Take special care not to speak to your Mother of the Embarkments for America. I am, at present, very well. I live with him that sells the wine in our Galley. I am very well fed. I lie in his chamber; and we have each of us our bed.

We see the care which this good Husband and Father took, to give an account of those few conveniences which he enjoyed, for the consolation of his Family; the sorrowful condition of which afforded him the most sensible occasion of his uneasiness.

You afford me (he proceeds) the greatest satisfaction in the World in sending me word, that your Aunt hath put your Business of Versailles in a good forwardness; and that your Mother is, with GOD's assistance, in continual hopes to finish it. Fail not to let me know what she hath done in it; upon your first knowledge of it. I beseech GOD, with all the powers of my Soul, to grant you a happy issue to this affair!

I have already observed that, by this 'Business,' he meant, their going out of the Kingdom.

XVIII. We have, a while ago, put it as a Question, Whether the inequality of the conduct [*treatment*] which we observed with respect to Monsieur DE MAROLLES did proceed from a spirit of rigour; or from a good intention? But one cannot any longer doubt, but that they did it for no other end but to sink and depress, with the weight of Affliction, both him and Monsieur LE FEVRE, his illustrious companion in Sufferings and Glory.

This is what he wrote to his Wife, seventeen days after that of which we have just now spoken. It is dated from the 'Fièvre,' the 24th of October 1686.

You must not disturb and disquiet yourself for me. I am at present in perfect health; but, in order fully to persuade you that, I will conceal nothing of my condition from you. I give you to understand that Monsieur LE FEVRE and I are not any more set loose from the chain, neither day nor night; and that we are not any longer allowed the liberty of going on shore, nor suffered to receive Letters, nor write any which are not seen. Wherefore, if you do not meet with any more Trifles in mine, by which I endeavoured to divert thee in thy trouble; be not afflicted at it! and do not impute anything to me for it!

He meant, without doubt, by these Trifles, that which he had

written to her concerning his Seaman's habit [*uniform*].

Monsieur LE FEVRE had the honour to appear before the [Cardinal LOUIS A. DE NOAILLES,] the Bishop of MARSEILLES; and exactly at the time, they tell us, when the Orders were come down from the Court to reduce us to the condition which I have just told you I am in.

I have [passed], and must again, within a little while, pass, into different conditions. I have changed my Galley thrice in one week. From the 'Grande Saint Jean,' I have been removed to the 'Petite Saint Jean'; and from thence to the 'Grande Royale': from whence I was conducted with several other Galley Slaves, to the 'Parc'; a place, where they divide them. Lastly, I was put on board an armed Galley, which is called the 'Fière.'

The Intendant told me, I must prepare myself for a Second Embarkment for America; which is to be about the middle of November next. If I happen to be one of the number; let not this afflict you, my dear Child! Let us resign ourselves to the Providence of GOD; who does all things with an infinite wisdom, and with a most noble end for his children. We are not able to make a good choice; because we do not know what is best for us. Let us, therefore, leave it to him! who knows how to bring light out of darkness; and to call the things that are not, as if they were: and let us be persuaded that he will do nothing but what will be for his own glory, and our salvation!

Let us not oppose his will, by impatience, or fruitless tears! We cannot be ignorant of his divine will. It evidently appears to us by the effects! Our separation, which to consider it in itself, is the most hard and bitter thing in the World to us, is not so, if we consider it, as the will of GOD; since it is from thence, that it doth proceed. And since the judgement of Men doth only pronounce the Decrees of Providence; let us lay our hands upon our mouths! let us, with profound submission and obedience, adore the hand which smites us! Let us say with ELI, 'It is the Lord! let him do what seemeth him good!' [1 Sam. iii. 18.] Let us not doubt but that he will shew us, by a happy experience, that all worketh together for the good of those that love and fear him! Let us profit by his discipline! Let us not regard our state, with the eyes of the body! Let us not confine our sight to the Miseries of this

Life! Let us carry it to the glorious recompenses which GOD promises his children! Let us be persuaded that if we weep and mourn now; there will come a day when we shall be comforted!

These are the considerations, my dear Wife! which support me; and which make me swallow and digest all my Misery, without much trouble. Believe what I am going to tell you; and practice it! Do not disquiet yourself for me; for all my changes are for the better! I protest to you, that I never yet have been so well as I am now.

There are two little cabins at the head of the Galley; of which I have one. This favour was procured me by a young Officer; to whom I teach Algebra.

It is four or five days ago, since I was visited by a certain Head of a Squadron, called, Monsieur DE I. I should, perhaps, have received as much from another Chief Head of the Squadron; if he were not absent. This makes me to be considered by the Sub-Officers of the Galley. Let this comfort thee!

I know not what so many honest persons may think, who could not refuse their esteem to the merit of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, nor their admiration of his patience, to see so resolute a proceeding in the Persecution which was made against him. I am, for my part, persuaded that it is impossible that this Spirit of Cruelty and Violence, which the Romish Religion inspires, must have great prejudices in the minds of all those who are able to judge of the Fury of the Persecutors, and the Patience and Constancy of the Martyrs.

One sees an honest man ready to be snatched out of the land of the living, as I may say; ready to be confined for ever; and without any hopes of returning, in those remote and unknown climes, where Cruelty and Barbarity have a full scope to exercise their Fury upon the miserable. What tranquility, nevertheless, do we see in the heart of our Martyr! what trust in the Providence of his GOD! what resignation, what submission, to his will!

As he was deprived of the liberty of writing with that ease that he formerly did, as he observes in the foregoing Letter; we find no Letter from him, for the space of a whole month.

Nevertheless, it appears that his good friend, which was with the Duke of MAYNE, was, in that time, to present a Petition for Monsieur DE MAROLLES to the King: from which he expected no good success, no more than his friend.

1686. 'The Voyage of Versailles' is accomplished.

This Letter is dated from the Galley, the 'Fière,' the 26th of November 1686.

He acquaints his Wife with the joy which he had for her Voyage of Versailles (that is, her departure out of France); which makes me (saith he) daily pour out my Soul before my GOD, to thank him for all the mercies and favours, which he has bestowed upon us all. The other Letter was delivered to me, the 6th current; together with another excellent one from our good relation and friend.

This was that Pastor who wrote to him, upon the news of his transportation into America; and who desired him to send him his Problem.

I wish I were able to send him an Answer; and to return him all the thanks which so many marks of his precious friendship which he affords me, deserve. But I dare not undertake it; and you must acquit me of that duty towards him. You must assure him and all his family of the sincerity of my affection; that his good Letter afforded me great consolation; that it strengthened my faith, and settled my hopes; and that it hath produced excellent fruits in my Soul.

He, notwithstanding, returned him an Answer a little while after.

Desire him always to afford me the assistance of his good prayers! My support, perhaps, is owing to the supplication of so many good Souls; who pray for me, both in private and public. For, of myself, I am altogether nothing else but weakness and infirmity. Nevertheless, by the grace of GOD, I still stand! and I hope that I shall persevere faithful unto him, even unto death; and that, in recompense, he will give me the Crown of Life.

Whatsoever hazard I run to write to thee; I will not forbear to do it as often as GOD shall give me opportunity. It is the only happiness which is left us in our sorrowful separation, to be able to confer with, and comfort, one another. But I shall likewise confine myself to write to thee alone for the future. Acquaint our intimate friend in particular with it; and desire him not to take it ill, that I use him thus.

It is certainly Monsieur JURIEU that he means; from whom he

‘Thou hast offered up the goods God gave us!’ 1686.

received notable service and great consolations.

Let him know, likewise, that I received his last and his first at the same time; for which I return him thanks, and desire that he would always assist me with his prayers.

If the Letters that I shall write to you are intercepted, and imputed to me as a crime; it shall be a crime which I shall always take pleasure and delight in confessing before all those who shall question me about it. I do not think that person [to be] of a just and equitable spirit who can think ill of, and blame, a Husband for endeavouring to comfort his Wife, in such sorrowful conjunctures as these are; to which it hath pleased GOD to reduce us. This, my dear Heart! is my resolution on that point.

Notwithstanding, let us, both of us, do all things with a Christian prudence; so that we may give no handle against us, to those who only wait for an Opportunity: and, as to the rest, let us rely upon the Providence of GOD, the singular favours and mercies of which we daily experience.

A little lower, after having exhorted her, to offer their bodies and souls to GOD as a living sacrifice; holy and acceptable, which is our reasonable service [Rom. xii. 1], he says,

This is what I daily study to do. I can truly tell you, that there pass but few nights but I water my bed with my tears. I do not say this, my dear Heart! to afflict thee. I do, on the contrary, imagine that this news may afford thee matter of joy; and a holy occasion to join with me in blessing GOD for it. For these tears are not the effects of a worldly sorrow; which bringeth forth nothing but death. But they proceed from the grace of GOD: some of them from that godly sorrow, which bringeth forth repentance to salvation, never to be repented of; others from the joy which I feel, when I consider, with admiration, how great the mercies and favours are, which GOD doth, and hath, bestowed upon you all, and upon myself.

I likewise reflect with extreme joy and satisfaction upon the sacrifice, which thou hast offered up to GOD, of the goods which he had given to thee and me. Thou mightest have enjoyed them; if thy heart had been turned and inclined that Way! But thou hast made thee a treasure of them in heaven; where rust and thieves spoil not. This treasure will provide, for the time to come, for thee and our

1686-87. Chained, night and day, for three months.

children, a solid foundation for eternal life.

Thou hast esteemed the precious Liberty of serving GOD of much greater worth than the riches of this World. Thou hast, like MARY, chosen the good part; which shall not be taken from thee. I assure you, my Dear! that thou couldst not have made a choice more to my mind. I praise GOD with all the powers and faculties of my Soul: who hath given me a Wife truly Christian; who will, in my absence, do her endeavour to learn [*teach*] our children to be Christians.

XIX. During the month of December [1686], our Martyr had several Conferences and Disputes with Clergymen, at the Bishop of MARSEILLES's [house]. The effect of these Conferences were to be feared; because they often served only to render their condition worse: as it is thought it happened to Monsieur LE FEVRE; who had been with the Bishop of MARSEILLES before Monsieur DE MAROLLES.

He acquaints us, in a Letter wrote to his Wife, with all that happened to him. It is dated from the Galley, the 'Fière,' the 20th January 1687.

He begins with wishes for the New Year; and advises her not lightly to give credit to all the grievous Reports which were spread abroad of his condition; and to believe nothing of it but what he should write himself. Speaking of this public Report, he saith:

All that is false, of which you sent me word; except two things: that, for above three months since, I have been confined to the chain, day and night; and that I have not been free from thence, only to be conveyed to the Bishop of MARSEILLES.

I assure thee, that I have not, as yet, received orders from any one to employ myself in work. I sat very quietly in my place, and saw it done, before the short days: and it is, at present, done, almost every day, before I am removed from my place. Praise GOD therefore with me, for this merciful treatment which he affords me; and beseech him that, so long as he shall think good to continue my Sufferings, my condition may not become worse!

They, it is probable, judged him unable to bear the fatigue, by reason of his weakness and secret infirmities.

I assure you, (he proceeds) I have not so much reason to complain as you imagine; and that the time slips away

very quickly. The week is no sooner begun; but I find myself at the end of it.

When I am up, after having presented my petitions to GOD, I read six, seven, or eight, Chapters of Holy Scripture. I make such Reflections and Observations thereon as I am able. I draw from this divine source all the consolations which I stand in need of. GOD himself doth most plentifully furnish me with them; and, with his precious Balm of Gilead, he gently anoints and supple all the wounds, which my Sufferings may make in my Heart.

All those Letters, of which we give Extracts, are written with his own hand.

The good Monsieur LE FEVRE (he proceeds), my dear companion in bonds, hath been taken, a month since, out of the 'Magnifique,' where he was very well [*comfortable*], and removed to the 'Grande Reale,' where they put fetters and two chains on his foot. This sad condition did not long continue thus. A Galley Slave, belonging to our Galley, was, the day before yesterday, on board the same Galley where he was; and informed me, at his return, that he did not any longer wear his chains and fetters, but in the night only.

It would be a difficult matter rightly to fathom the mystery of all those changes and alterations. Monsieur DE MAROLLES says nothing of it.

Was it not that when those blessed Martyrs had met with some sense of humanity in the Galley wherein they were, and their virtue had procured them some compassion; then the zealous Missioner, always cruel, always implacable, caused them to be removed elsewhere, to try if they could not at length meet with barbarous Officers, and fit to do the work of Executioners.

The rigour, perhaps, was likewise augmented against these famous Confessors, when the Conferences had not succeeded to the honour of the Missioners. It seems that this was the opinion of our Martyr, when he adds,

I tell thee ingenuously [*candidly*], my dear Child! that I was afraid that the end of the Conferences, which I had at [Cardinal Louis A. DE NOAILLES,] the Bishop of MARSEILLES's, would cast me into a very bad condition. But my fears are dissipated; and they are ended as well and as

happily as I could desire them. I have therein followed the advice of Saint PETER. I have thereat rendered a reason with mildness and reverence of the hope that is in me. [1 Pet. iii. 15.]

I made an end of those affairs at the sixth interview. I have had the honour to dispute more than once before that illustrious Prelate: but the strongest debate was between a Divine come from Paris and myself.

Last Tuesday, the 7th of this month, was the last time that I was there. After having told this Almoner that the Answers, which he made to my Proposals, could not give me satisfaction; we parted good friends.

When I came down; I desired to pay my respects to the Bishop. They told me, That he was at Mass; and that if I would stay for him, he would not fail to return. I asked leave of one of our Patrons who attended me; the which he granted.

I had the honour to speak to him. He caused me to come up into his chamber. We came thither, and several Clergymen with us, and after having told him that his Almoner and I had finished our Conferences; I returned him thanks for the goodness and charity which he expressed to me in this rencounter [*disputation*]; and I assured him, that I should be always ready to acknowledge it.

He answered me, in the most obliging manner in the World; telling me, That he was sorry that he could not make me a Catholic; and that all that they were able to do, was to pray to GOD for me. At my departure, he told me, That he would willingly serve me, if opportunity should offer.

I believe that it will please you very much to hear this little Account.

XX. I shall not make any difficulty to discover the petty confidences, wherewith he entertained his Wife in her forlorn estate; notwithstanding that he desires her to communicate his Letter to nobody.

He gives her an Account of the little respects which he received: but it is easy to discover, through this little Account, that he enters upon it with a design to allay, by all manner of means, the trouble of a Wife overwhelmed with grief. The greatness of his Soul, while making his Duty his principal care, knew how, in other matters, to accommodate himself without difficulty to his sorrowful condition.

My paper is full (saith he to her), and I find that I have yet a long Story to tell you. I am lodged in one of the extremities of the Galley, which is called the Prow or Beak, in a little Cabin, which is about seven or eight feet square. Its ceiling is so high that I cannot stand upright in it. We generally lie, four of us, therein, two Gallerians and two Slaves. I commonly boil the pot twice or thrice a week; in which is put five quarters of a pound of mutton. This does not make a full pound of our country weight. There is but little beef here; and almost no veal. The Gallerian and I eat together; though I alone pay for it: but he does me service enough for it other ways. The bread is dear here. I have sometimes eaten of the King's.

As to the rest of the food, that which the King allows the Galley Slaves is always, and for the whole day, a good half Porringer full of beans dressed in oil. I eat none at all of it; so my usual food is bread: with which I have, of late, eaten a few dried raisins; a pound of which costs me 18 deniers [= $1\frac{1}{2}$ Sols. = $1\frac{1}{4}$ d.], and that serves me for three or four meals. The wines here are so gross, that they breed very much gravel.

I lie upon a mattress of a Galley, which they call 'Strapontin' [*hammock*]. It is made of three or four old coats which are brought thither. I had it from a Gallerian belonging to my bench, who went off with the First Embarkment for America. It cost me $4\frac{1}{2}$ Sols. [= $3\frac{3}{4}$ d.]

I have, about a month since, begun to lie undressed, and in sheets. If the cold, which we feel, doth very much increase, I will again lie in my clothes. They have lent me a quilt, which, together with my great coat, serves me for a coverlet.

I have bought coals, which are very dear; and I make a little fire in our apartment. Our Officers come to warm themselves, and talk with me, at my fire. I mean those who have the command of the Gallerians; and I always receive civility enough from them. They denied entrance into our Galley to some Officers of other Galleys, who came to see me.

Would not one imagine that Monsieur DE MAROLLES was a Prisoner of State, to whom they might have communicated some secret of importance. But who will not admire to see the zealous Persecutors so circumspect, with respect to those whom they persecute. They must,

1687. **Arrival of another Chain Gang of 150 men.**

of necessity, mistrust the goodness of their Cause; since the voice and discourse of the Confessors and Martyrs is so formidable to them. The Inquisition leads them, with the gag in their mouths, when it celebrates that tragical Procession of its 'Act of Faith': and, in France, they beat upon drums, to hinder the people from hearing the words of the Faithful; which they lead to punishment. Cruel Religion! Barbarous Piety! Thy language, thy carriage, makes thee sufficiently known to all those who are persuaded there is a GOD, who calls Men to his knowledge, to save them.

Let us hear the latter part of our Martyr's Letter.

The Second Embarkment for America is made; but I believe that the vessel is yet in the Port. They have apparently laid aside the thoughts of sending me thither.

There arrived here a Chain [*Chain-gang*] of 150 men, the beginning of last month; without reckoning 33 who died by the way. Monsieur GARNIER is one of the number; with a nephew of Monsieur VARNIER, Doctor of Physic. These two came from Vitry in France. Monsieur GHANGUINON DE VASSY; and his brother-in-law. He went by the name of CHEMET. There were seven or eight of them Protestants. The four first [above mentioned] are in the Hospital.

I divert myself, after my morning and evening Acts of Piety and Devotion, either with Algebra or Geometry. I have been told that there is, in this City, a man who pretends to Algebra. If this be so, we may teach other something: but he is gone, five or six weeks since, to Paris.

Let not any person whomsoever see this Letter; because of all the Trifles which are in it, with which I was obliged to satisfy you.

XXI. **I**T HATH BEEN heretofore observed that Monsieur LE FEVRE was more rigorously handled, after the disputes about Religion which he had at [Cardinal LOUIS A. DE NOAILLES,] the Bishop of MARSEILLES's.

It was the sentiment of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, concluding it from the civility of the Bishop, that nothing more grievous would happen to him.

Notwithstanding, about six weeks after his Conference, he was taken out of the Galleys, to be shut up in a kind of Dungeon; which was made purposely for him in the Citadel [of Saint Nicolas] of Marseilles.

It is highly probable that these Orders came down from the Court, upon the Report of this Ecclesiastic from Paris, of which he makes mention in his Letter. For it must be observed, That all the different Persecutions, all the augmentations and additions to the pains of our Martyr, were done by express Orders from the Court. He had made such a noise in the World, that they endeavoured at Versailles to triumph over his Patience.

The World will doubtless be very glad to know the labours of this holy man upon his last Theatre; where he maintained the Conflict, for the space of six years [12 February 1687—17 June 1692] against Nakedness, Hunger, Cold, and Darkness.

He wrote to his Wife a Letter, dated the 25th of October 1687. He speaks under the name of a third person: but, to my knowledge, it is written with his own hand.

One may conclude from the date of this Letter, with what severity he was handled; and with what straitness and vigilancy he was kept: because he could not let any one hear from him till eight months after he was shut up.

You desire, Madame, (saith he to her) to hear from your husband. This is what we learn from the Report of the City.

The 12th of last February [1687], he was taken out of the Galley; and put into the Citadel. He is thrust into a little room, which served for a Soldier's Lodge [*lodging*]. But they have made such an alteration therein, that the most of the light that is there, comes in by the chimney. The King allows him five Sols. [= 4d.] a day for his subsistence. He lives upon that. He is committed to the custody of the Major; who, the better to secure him, places a Sentinel, day and night, at the out-gate of his chamber, and another at the top of his chimney. They say, That he is not grieved: but doth very patiently suffer his affliction.

This is what we learn from the Report of the City.

Be not afflicted at his condition. He is endued with constancy enough to put him above all! We are all more apt to complain than he; and we have great reason to say, with DAVID,

O, Lord! how long!

How long, O, GOD of Hosts!

Farewell, Madame! I recommend both yourself and family to the grace and mercy of the Lord!

Be pleased to pardon me, if I do not tell you my name. I am no less your Servant.

XXII. I have met with no Letter of the Three following years: [1688-1690]: but we see, by those which he wrote in the years 1691, 1692, into what an Abyss of Misery they had cast and confined him; and how great was the strength of his Faith and Hope.

He comforted his companions in service and affliction; and assured them of the Fidelity with which he was resolved to keep to his Saviour. I find a Note, without date, which is written with a trembling hand: but it is the hand of our Martyr. It is an Answer to another Confessor, who had written to him; wherein he tells him,

I know not, how to express to you, my most honoured and dear Friend, how agreeable were the things which you have, and do still, communicate to me. You have fully satisfied my desires.

I praise GOD that he hath heard the prayers which I offered up for your re-establishment [*restoration*]. I beseech him, with all the powers of my Soul, that he would carefully preserve you, both for your own [sake], and for the sake of those to whom you afford great consolation. It was not without a great sense of grief and sorrow, that I heard of all that you suffer, and our brethren with you. Let us all comfort ourselves with the Cause of our Sufferings! Let us always fix our eyes upon the recompenses, which GOD reserves for us! Let us assure ourselves that all that we suffer is a certain Sign that our names are written in the Book of Life! Let us count it all our happiness that GOD doth not think us unworthy to suffer for his Name! I have not time to say more now: therefore wait always patiently!

I am sorry that they have given themselves the trouble to procure a Pension for me. Write to them, that they trouble themselves no more about it! I am contented to live on bread and water.

They had made it their endeavours to procure him some relief: but they were unsuccessful, by reason of the cruel severity of those who had the management of him.

This is what he tells us, in a Letter of the 31st of August 1691; which he wrote to his friend.

I confess with you, that Monsieur LE FEVRE is an excellent man. He writes like a complete Divine; and that which he is to be most esteemed for is, that he practises what he says. May the Lord bless, preserve, and strengthen,

1691. 'My eyes fail me. I use broken spectacles.'

both yourself and him! and this will afford me great and singular consolation. I thank you both, for the encouragements which you give me. The Lord will give me grace to profit thereby! Do not turn your eyes upon me: but regard yourselves and the rest of our brethren; and it will be there, that you will find occasion to bless the Lord! Assure them all, that I daily pour out my Soul before GOD, several times a day, to procure for them the succour and assistance which they stand in need of.

To come to the Question which you so earnestly put to me, concerning my nourishment. I acquiesce and content myself with everything: and I had not opposed it, but [*simply*] because I know I have to do with a Major, who gets me my food, who will pocket the money that shall be given, and will always treat me very ill.

Though I should have my diet from the Ordinary; it would be the same thing! I have already passed through their hands.

Let the Lord preserve, and fill with his favours and blessings, all those holy Souls who interest themselves in my behalf!

If I ever have the opportunity to answer you again: it shall be in a more ample manner than I have at present done; when I did it precipitately, and without well considering what things I have to answer to.

My lamp gives but little light. My eyes fail me. I make use of broken spectacles. All this not proper to dispatch business.

It appeared, by some Letters, that our Martyr would not meddle with any great sum of money; for fear it should be thought, that his design was to corrupt his Guards therewith.

We likewise see by others, the strictness with which they kept him; to hinder him from receiving any Letter from his friends, or sending any news to them concerning himself.

But of this we see enough, in a Letter written with his own hand, the 6th and 16th of December 1691, to make us, on the one hand, groan with horror to behold the condition to which this holy man was reduced: and, on the other, to admire his Patience, and Confidence in his GOD. This Letter is written to his Wife; whom he chides, for troubling herself at his condition to that degree, as to impair her health.

It is not above two hours ago, my dear Heart! that I received a Letter which gives me more sorrow than joy. I received it, when I was in the midst of my offering up my Evening Sacrifice to GOD, on the Sabbath Day.

Thou believest that I hide the condition and place in which I am from thee; but I have much more reason to believe that thou dost conceal thine from me: and I know that my judgement is but too true, by what you confess to me of it. That which grieves me is, that you make me an occasion of your indisposition. If it is I that put the sword to your heart; then do I very innocently stab myself! My spirit, my heart, is too deeply engaged to thee; not to be sensibly affected with the Evil which thou sufferest! Be not disturbed at this new Cross which GOD lays upon me, by thy means! Do not fear that it will prejudice my health! I will bear it like a Christian; and always with the submission which I owe to the Orders of my GOD and Father, full of tenderness and compassion towards me. Imitate me in that, my dear and well-beloved Widow! and not in the many failings which you have known in me. Love me always tenderly, as thou hast done! but let this love, which I desire of you, be always regulated by Divine Love! as that which I have for thee is never separated from it.

Although I have great reason to bless myself for thee; and although I daily pour out my Soul in praises to GOD, for the singular favour which he hath done me, in joining me to so Christian a Wife; for thou hast contributed very much to the moderating of my Sufferings, by saving thyself and our dear Family from the Deluge of this Age: yet I always feared that you did not receive, with submission enough, the affliction, by which it pleases GOD to prove us.

Let us imitate ELI, and say with him, in all our Sufferings, 'It is the Lord! Let him do what seemeth him good!' [1 Sam. iii. 18.]

What reason have you to fear lest evil should befall me? Dost thou question the omnipotency of GOD? Oughtest thou to imagine that GOD would desert me at last, after several years' miraculous preservation of me; though I should lose my life, to preserve my Fidelity, which I owe to my Saviour? Do not think that that is the way to lose it! It is, on the contrary, the true way to save it. 'He,' we are told by JESUS CHRIST, 'who will save his life, shall lose

it; but he that will lose it, for my sake, shall save it!' [Matt. xvi. 25.] Remember, in order to give thee more confidence in the goodness of GOD, that

The Angels have pitched.

After some such Exhortations; he gives her an Account of his Miseries in these words.

I must, at present, satisfy thy curiosity. I have so many things to tell thee thereupon, that I cannot tell thee them without disguise, and without an imaginary and borrowed name. May the Lord, who favours us in so eminent and miraculous a manner, grant, if it be his pleasure, that no inconvenience may happen thereupon! But I desire of thee, beforehand, that thou wilt not make it a subject of Affliction: but that you would take occasion thereby to bless the Lord!

The place in which I am, served formerly for a Lodging for Soldiers. But, since that, they have converted it into a Dungeon. They have made so much alteration therein, that there doth not so much light come in at present, as to hinder me, by day, from running myself against the walls.

After I had been there three weeks; I was assaulted with so many inconveniences; that I thought I could not live there four months to an end: and it will be five years [1687-1692], the 11th of next February, that GOD doth preserve me therein.

About the 15th of October [1687] in the first year, GOD, who never sends me Evils but for my good, afflicted me with a painful defluxion [*inflammatory discharge*], which fell in the elbow of my right arm and shoulder. I could not undress myself. I spent the night, sometimes on my bed, sometimes walking backwards and forwards in my usual darkness. I set myself to reflect upon the occasion of my disease, and concluded that it did proceed from the cold and moistness of the winter; and that to remedy it, I must drink my wine pure and unmixed: which I did for two days following. At length, perceiving my pains to increase; I took the contrary course, and drank water: and finding myself well after it, I have ever since continued it. The defluxion, which I was just now speaking of, was so bad, that I felt it for near[ly] a year. The Lord hath tried me with several other inconveniences: but he hath delivered me out of them all.

I forgot to tell thee, my Dear! to give thee a complete description of my little Sanctuary; that it is ten of my feet in length, and twelve in breadth. All my goods are a bed from the Hospital; which was brought there about five or six months before my entrance therein. I lie upon one of the Hospital quilts, with a straw bed under it; and, in this respect, I am much better than in the Galley.

This is the Fourth winter which I have spent there, almost without fire. The First of these Four, I had none at all. The Second, they began to give me some the 28th of January; and took it away from me before February was out. The Third, they gave me some for about fourteen or fifteen days. I have not yet seen any this winter; and I will not ask for any at all. The Major might give me some, if he would; for he hath money of mine: but he will not give me a Double [*the Sixth part of a Sou*] of it! I have sensibly felt the Cold, Nakedness, and Hunger: but all this, I thank GOD! is past and gone.

I have lived on Five Sols [=4d.] a day; which is the subsistence which the King hath appointed for me. I was, at first, fed by an Ordinary; which treated me very well for my Five Sols. But another, which succeeded him, fed me, for the space of five months; and scotched [*cheated*] me off daily Three Sols in my food.

The Major, at length, undertook to feed me in his turn; which he did at first very well: but at length he left off to do well. He opens my Dungeon but once a day; and hath caused my dinner, several times, to be brought at nine, ten, and eleven, a clock at night: and I did not receive any bread from him once, for the space of three days; and, at other times, twice in twenty-four hours.

Let not so many miseries afflict thee, my Dear! Consider, as I have done, that this diet was appointed me by the Sovereign Physician of my Body and Soul; to whom I have resigned myself: and that he would not have appointed it, if he had not judged it necessary. It is by this means, and the sparing manner after which I have lived for all this present year, that GOD hath preserved me in life and health. Beware, therefore, of falling into regret! whereas you ought to bless GOD for his merciful conduct towards me.

I have just told you, that I have suffered Nakedness. I have been almost a year without shirts. My clothes are more torn and ragged than those of the poorest beggars

which stand at the Church doors. I have gone bare-foot till the 15th of December [? 1689]. I say bare-foot: for I have had stockings, which had no feet; and a pair of old shoes, unsewed on both sides, and bored through the soles.

An Intendant, who came into this City, three years ago [1688], saw me in this magnificent dress; and, though he promised me much, yet he left me ten months in this condition: at the end of which, GOD raised me up succour, which there was no room to expect.

He put it into the heart of a charitable and pious person, the Almoner of the Citadel, to visit me. This, without doubt, was done with the agreement [*consent*] of the King's Lieutenant; who is likewise very charitable. And having seen me in the sorrowful condition in which I was; he went out immediately to fetch me some of his linen: but I hindered him. But, at length, he did solicit so well for me, that he procured me a whole Galley Slave's suit; and obliged the Major to buy me a pair of shoes, and a close pair of breeches, out of my own money. So that, by the care of this good person, I am better clothed than I have ever been, in all my captivity.

He procured me likewise a most notable advantage, which is, that ever since this year and a half [June 1690—December 1691], the King's Lieutenant gives me, every day, a lamp full of oil; which gives me light for six, seven, and eight, hours. This gives me opportunity to read the Holy Scripture more than I did before. They [formerly] gave me but a little candle, for a Liard [*the Fourth part of a Sou*] a day.

I believe that this is enough to satisfy thy curiosity.

I must further add, That I have been, for these five or six months, troubled with an oppression of the lungs; which almost took away my breath. I have likewise been troubled with giddiness; and have fallen down, so as to break [*hurt*] my head. This giddiness I impute to the want of food. But I am now, by the grace of GOD, in more perfect health than I have been these forty years. I speak, my Dear! sincerely, as in the presence of GOD. It is two or three months that they have given me regularly three little loaves, and often soup: since which time, my head is almost settled, and I sleep much better, and my giddiness is almost over.

After the comfortable news which I tell you; think no more, but to rejoice at it, and to praise GOD for it! and

labour after thy health ! which shall always be mine. This I conjure you, in the name of GOD ! and let not your suspicions any more trouble the rest and satisfaction which I find in the possession of my GOD !

XXIII. That Major of the Citadel [of Saint Nicolas], from whom our Martyr received such ill treatment, is called LAMBERT. He cannot allege the King's Orders in excuse.

He was not commanded to be sure to keep back his money, to make his advantage [*profit*] out of the King's Five Sols, not to send him his dinner till ten o'clock at night, to let his clothes rot upon the body of his Prisoner, and to refuse him fire in the winter. However rigorous the Orders might be ; one might execute them like an honest man : and not like an Executioner !

One may likewise judge of it, by a Letter of our Martyr, written on the First day of the year 1692, to one of his Companions in affliction.

After having acquainted him with the situation of his Soul ; and having assured him that, through the grace of GOD, Flesh and Blood had never harrassed him to yield to any of their pernicious counsels : he gives an account of his little necessities ; and says,

I entreat you, with my usual boldness, to buy me, if you can, for Three Sols and a half [= 3d.] some thread which is not dyed, to mend my linen ; and as much brown thread, for my breeches and other clothes ; and to cause the whole to be bound up into two bottoms [*skeins*]. That will be enough to serve me, the remainder of my days. It is above six weeks since the Serjeants have asked the Major, every day, for some for me ; without ever obtaining any.

Thus do I fare in all things with him. He has, for these three months, refused to get my linen washed.

Must he not be both barbarous and cruel, to use him after this manner !

XXIV. In the following Letter may be seen how those two famous Confessors did comfort and encourage each other. Monsieur DE MAROLLES tells his friend,

You speak just to my mind, my dear Brother, when you say, That we alone shall be the persons, whom the King will not make to feel the effects of his clemency. We are brought upon the Stage, in order to strike a Terror into the whole Kingdom ; and upon whom, must fall that vengeance, which

1692. His last Letter to his Wife, of March 24th.

the King makes those to feel, who do not acquiesce and submit to his Orders. But if we have had the misfortune to disobey our great Monarch; let this be our comfort, that we did it out of an indispensable necessity, to which we were reduced, of disobeying him. We have preferred the obedience which we owe to the Divine, to that which we owe to [the] Human, Majesty. This is the laudable crime, for which we suffer so many miseries! Let us always fix our eyes upon the glorious recompenses which GOD reserves in Heaven for us! for that very crime for which the God of this World will, perhaps, never forgive us. Let us wait the will of the Lord; and be always faithful to him!

It must be observed that, in this Letter, there are certain proofs that some of our Martyr's Letters had been communicated to the King.

XXV. He wrote again to his Wife, on the 24th March 1692; and acquaints her with the sole trouble that hath afflicted him during the whole time of his Captivity.

He begins with his joy that her Letter of the 16th of December, had been delivered to him. After which, he advertised her, That the pleasure of this correspondence might be interrupted; and that she must prepare herself for it. At length, he tells her,

The Christian manner in which, my dear Wife! you received the Account of my Sufferings, engages me to hide nothing thereof from you. All that you know, is but very little in comparison of what I am a going to tell you.

I know very well that I cannot perform what I propose to myself, without making an open confession of my infirmities, and of the narrowness of my spirit. But I have always been sincere; and will continue so to the end. I will endeavour to make myself pass for no other than for a man of very common endowments.

When I was taken out of the Galley, and brought hither; I found, at first, a great deal of pleasure in this change. My ears were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds, with which those places continually echoed. I had liberty to sing, at every turn, the praises of my GOD. I could prostrate myself before him, as often as I pleased. Moreover, I was discharged from that uneasy chain; which was infinitely more troublesome to me than that, of Thirty pounds weight, which you saw me carry.

But notwithstanding all these troubles; the Lord (who had a mind to make me experience his succour and assistance in a rare and extraordinary manner) suffered me to fall into a terrible Trial.

The solitude and perpetual darkness in which I spent my days, presented my narrow Soul with such a frightful and terrifying Idea, that it made a very fatal impression thereon. It was filled with a million of false and vain Imaginations, which did very often transport it into deliriums and idle fancies; which lasted sometimes for the space of two whole hours.

My prayers were no remedy against this Evil. GOD was pleased that it should continue for some months. I was plunged into a profound Abyss of Affliction. When I considered, together with this sorrowful condition, my little bodily rest; I concluded from thence, that it was the high road to distraction [*insanity*], and that I should never escape falling into it.

I incessantly implored the succours of my GOD! I begged of him, that he would never suffer mine enemies to triumph over me and my Sufferings in so sorrowful a manner as that was! At length, (after much prayer, sighs, and tears) the GOD of my deliverance heard my petitions; and, after many tempests, sent a perfect calm and serenity. He dissipated all these Illusions, which gave me so much trouble.

After having delivered me out of so sore a trial; never have any doubt, my dearest Wife! that GOD will not deliver me out of all others in general! Do not, therefore, disquiet yourself any more about me! Hope always in the goodness of GOD; and your hopes shall not be in vain!

I ought not, in my opinion, to forget to take notice of a considerable circumstance, which tends to the glory of GOD. The duration of so great a Temptation was, in my opinion, the proper time for the Old Serpent to endeavour to cast me into Rebellion and Infidelity. But GOD always kept him in so profound a silence, that he never once offered to infest me with any of his pernicious counsels: and I never felt the least inclination to revolt.

Ever since these sorrowful days; GOD hath always filled my heart with joy! I possess my Soul in patience. He makes the Days of my Affliction speedily to pass away. I have no sooner begun them; but I find myself at the end

1692. Marolles buried by Turks, among the Turks.

of them. With the Bread and Water of Affliction with which he tries me; he doth afford me continually most delicious repasts.

XXVI. This is the last Letter of this blessed Martyr which hath been put into my hands. We must believe that they doubled the strictness with which they kept him, to deprive him of this consolation.

We are likewise informed by the Letter of a faithful Confessor who was on board the Galleys, and who hath always run all hazards to do our Martyr all the services that he could, that the extreme weakness of his body and eyes hindered him from reading and writing, a month or two before his death: which happened on the 17th of June in the year 1692; and he was buried by Turks, in the same place where those Infidels were buried.

There is an Extract of a Letter written from Marseilles, of the 19th of June 1692; which says,

The subject of this present [Letter], is chiefly to acquaint you with death of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, that famous Confessor of CHRIST; who hath been so long shut up in a Dungeon in the great Citadel: where they have made him to suffer very much. He was pressed to the last, to change his Religion: but he hath always persevered in his own. He died the day before yesterday; being buried by Turks, among the Turks. They must make an end, as they had begun.

Thus is he out of his Misery; and crowned with glory in ABRAHAM's bosom. We ought to desire to end our days as holily as he did; who died a true Martyr, with great constancy and resignation. Thus shall he enjoy an eternal recompense: whereas his Persecutors shall have a great Account to give to the Sovereign Judge.

I pass by other circumstances, for fear of discovering the Author of this Letter; who is perhaps a Roman Catholic, smitten with the Sufferings of our Martyr.

If you do not know Monsieur DE MAROLLES's relations; communicate, if you please, what I write to you to Monsieur BERNARD; who hath sometimes asked me about him. May GOD comfort the afflicted! who ought to be glad to hear that he is at rest. He had nothing to hope for, but Sufferings in this World!

There is still another Letter, of the 20th of June, written to his Wife, by that generous Confessor who was on board the Gallies, and who rendered our Martyr all manner of services and consolations; as doth appear by the Answers which Monsieur DE MAROLLES returned to his Letters. He saith, among other things, that this dear Martyr of the Lord resigned his spirit into the hands of his Father, on the 17th day of the present month: and was, the next day, laid in his last grave, by six Turks; as it is the custom here, to bury those who die faithful to their Saviour.

I cannot (he proceeds) give you an exact Account of his last hours; nor of his last words. But I will tell you, in a few words, that which hath been known.

You have already learned by the Letters of this dear Martyr, that, after having groaned for some time under irons, he was removed to a Dungeon, dreadful for its obscurity, and much more so for its stench.

You know that they fed him but very ill there: and that he often laboured under Hunger; not having enough even of bread and water, which was his common diet. This great austerity made him very weak, and flung him into great Vertigoes [*Giddiness*]: so that he fell down, about two months since, with very weakness; and dashed his head against the wall, in which he made several wounds. He has been continually languishing ever since that moment; and his Life hath been nothing else but a living Death.

Those who had the management of him were insensible of all his pains; excepting that, for these six weeks past, they gave him a little better, and a little greater, quantity of, victuals. But his body was weakened, and his nature brought so low, that it could not recover its strength.

This faithful Servant of the Lord had almost lost his sight, about a month since: and although I had sent him your last Letters; he could neither read them, nor return any Answer. He likewise returned me those which I, from time to time, wrote to him. He was forced to be contented with hearing by word of mouth from me: and caused me to be told, That he recommended himself to the prayers of his good friend; and that he thought of nothing else but his Departure. GOD hath, at length, disposed of him; and he shall return to us no more.

He hath gone through the most cruel torments which Inhumanity, in its utmost extent, could inflict: but yet GOD

hath never suffered them to make a prize of his Innocence.

I must tell you, for your consolation, that, from the time that they saw this dear Martyr begin to grow weak and decay, he was often visited by Doctors of the contrary Communion: but this firm and immovable Servant of GOD was not moved by their visits. He heard, without trouble, that which he rejected; and did not return railing for railing. He blest his enemies to the last. His glory will never be blotted out, neither in Heaven, nor in the Earth!

XXVII. **L**ET US FOLLOW the thoughts of this Confessor of the Truth, and say with him, That the Glory of Monsieur DE MAROLLES will never be extinguished in the eyes of GOD or Men !

One may, without exaggeration, say, That he was one of the most famous Martyrs that the Church ever knew. He hath undergone all the most formidable Afflictions that the World, that the Fury of Persecution, could invent. He hath suffered everything which was able to shock Human Nature. But he sustained it, like that house built upon a rock, which JESUS CHRIST speaks of in the Gospel ; which the most violent storms could not overthrow.

He seemed to be engaged to the World by the strongest bonds of Flesh and Blood. He had an Estate. He had a Wife and children who were dear to him. How often have they laid before him, by flattering promises, the advantages of the World ! since such great and frequent efforts were made to triumph over his Fidelity. They could not say, That a morose and conceited humour had produced anything like obstinacy in his Soul. His constancy was well founded. It was enlightened, and grounded upon good reasons. He always gave a reason of his Hope with modesty. This is a testimony which all the Doctors who have had any Conference with him, cannot refuse to give him.

One year on board the Galleys. Five years in a Dungeon, perplexed with darkness and stench : always exposed to Cold, Nakedness, and Hunger. Imagination itself cannot, without horror, form a just Idea of all those Sufferings.

Notwithstanding, this blessed Martyr, learns [*teaches*] us, that during the whole time of so tedious and dreadful a Combat, in which he was besieged by all the horrors of this Life, in which the World presented him with its riches and honours ; this Soul, faithful to his GOD, always kept his Flesh in a respectful silence to the adorable Providence of that great GOD, who would be glorified in his Afflictions.

What a Treasure of Consolation and Instruction would it be to all the Faithful, if we had the Thoughts, the Meditations, the Prayers, the private Conferences of his holy Soul with his GOD, during those five years in which his body lay 'buried in the deep mire,' to speak in the language of the royal Prophet. [Ps. lxxix. 2.]

But since we cannot have an Account of the effects which this eminent Faith produced; we ought to make many useful and salutary Reflections upon so famous an example.

Those Libertines, who despise Piety and ridicule its promises, ought to tremble and stand in awe of the Judgements of GOD. They believe, neither in Heaven nor Hell, nor the Resurrection, nor Life Eternal. What assurance have they of this annihilation? which should make them expect death with such a brutal security; as if they had *certain* demonstrations of this pretended future Annihilation.

Our Martyr was endued with a solid judgement, a piercing spirit. He was enlightened; and was a good Philosopher. He had time often to reflect upon Eternity: and the reward appeared to him so certain, that his Hope gave him the victory over all the most dreadful Evils which were able to shake and stagger the heart of Mankind. Such a steady, such an unshaken, Fidelity wants but very little of being as forcible and convincing as the Testimony of a Soul which had already enjoyed the blessed Vision of GOD.

This Martyr should likewise awaken those Christians lulled asleep in error: who flatter themselves that they are not liable to those penalties with which JESUS CHRIST has threatened those who shall deny him before Men; because they have not abjured the Gospel, to receive the Alcoran [*Koran*].

Our Martyr, being convinced of the Truth which GOD had made known unto him, was persuaded that the Fidelity, which GOD expected from him, obliged him not to suffer the Truth, by any means, to be prejudiced; nor any breach to be made in his Faith. He would preserve it pure and inviolable; as he had received it from his GOD.

He likewise learns [*teaches*] those sluggish Christians, who live in the World as the rest of men do, content with performing the exterior Service which Religion prescribes—our Martyr, I say, learns [*teaches*] them to work out their Salvation with a holy Fear. For if we must be faithful to him, when he calls us to Suffering; we do not owe him less obedience, in the things which he commands us to do, and which the Gospel requires of us.

His example likewise instructs us to put our trust in GOD, in the most sorrowful conjunctures of this life. Did we but know his secret Soliloquies; how often should we find him strengthening and comforting himself with those words of his Saviour, 'Let not your heart be troubled; and be not fearful! Ye believe in GOD; believe also in me!' [John xiv. 1.] And with those of his Apostle, 'I know whom I have believed; and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have

A Religion ending disputes by Fire and Faggot. 1699.

committed unto him [2 Tim. i. 12.] insomuch that neither Death nor Life shall ever separate me from the Love which GOD hath shewed me in CHRIST JESUS. [Rom. viii. 38, 39.] If GOD is for us; who shall be against us? [Rom. viii. 31.]

Lastly. This cruel Inhumanity, with which our Martyr was so long persecuted, ought to give us just Ideas of the Romish Religion. For where Truth is, there also *must* Humanity and Charity, of necessity, be!

By consequence, a Religion which ends disputes by Fire and Faggot, cannot, without dispute, have any share in the salutary Truths which JESUS CHRIST delivered; nor [in] that Spirit of the Gospel, which is a Spirit of Mildness; which doth good to all men, but especially to those of the Household of Faith.

GOD grant that those of this Communion, who sincerely seek to work out their salvation, may seriously think thereupon: and that the sight of so much Violence and Barbarity which this Religion inspires and exercises; that the voice and groans of so many afflicted persons, because they would not betray their Consciences; may rouse them, out of their stupidity, to read the Word of GOD! that they may search out the Truth therein! and openly profess it, after they have found it, in giving glory to GOD!

F I N I S.

An Account
of the
Sufferings
of the
French Protestants,
Slaves on board the French King's Gallies.

By
Elie Neau,
One of their fellow Sufferers.

Together with
A List of those who are still on board
the said Gallies.

London.
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under the Royal Exchange ;
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1699.



An Account of the Sufferings of the French Protestants, Slaves on board the French King's Galleys, etc.

IT IS NOT out of any vanity, that I have been induced to publish the following Account of my Sufferings, while I have remained on board the French King's Galleys, or in the Dungeons of Marseilles: but the Lord, out of his infinite mercy, having saved me out of my distresses, brought me out of darkness, and broken my fetters; some pious people have thought I should be ungrateful, did I not praise the Lord for his goodness, and publish his wonderful works to the children of men.

I left the Kingdom of France, upon account of my Religion, in the year 1679, being then aged about eighteen years: and went to Saint Domingo, and from thence to New York; where I married some time after.

As I had been bred to the sea; some friends of mine fitted out a small ship, of about 80 tons; which they trusted to my care and command: I having been made a Free Denizen [*Citizen, though alien born*] of England, by his present Majesty [WILLIAM III.], in the first year of his reign [1689].

I sailed from New York on the 15th of August 1692, bound for Jamaica: and was taken, on the 29th, by a Privateer from Saint Malo; which was returning home from Saint Domingo. I continued two months on board his ship: after which, I was put in Prison [at Saint Malo], with other Seamen and Prisoners at War.

The Judge of the Admiralty, being informed that I was a French Protestant, gave notice thereof to the King's Attorney; who, having acquainted Monsieur DE PONTCHARTRAIN with it, received orders to persuade me to change my Religion; or in case I proved obstinate, to condemn me to the Gallies.

This Order was signified unto me: but GOD was pleased to assist me in such a manner, that I was not terrified in the least; and I did not hesitate at all to answer, That I could not comply with their desire; seeing it was against my Conscience.

Their solicitations proving vain; I was brought before the Court to be examined, and was asked, Why I did not return into the Kingdom, when the King had, by a Proclamation, recalled all his subjects who were in foreign countries?

I answered, That it was because the Gospel commanded me, when I was persecuted in one Kingdom, to fly into another country.

The Judge (being likely a stranger to Scripture maxims and expressions) told me, That I blasphemed: but having desired him to tell me, Wherein? he would not; and repeated the same word.

I replied, That this was an expression of the Son of GOD, contained in the Gospel.

Whereupon he inclined his head, looking upon the Greffier, or Clerk of the Court, and repeated once more, That I blasphemed.

He examined me also upon several other Articles, foreign to my purpose; and sent the Informations he had taken to Court.

I remained four months in the Prisons of Saint Malo; where I had many temptations to overcome, as threats and promises: but, by the grace of GOD, I was proof against all their artifices.

The Order of the Court being arrived; my Sentence was pronounced: and I was sent to Rennes, to appear before the Parliament of Brittany.

I was put on horseback, bound hand and foot: but the shaking of the horse causing my arms to swell, the manacles proved then too little, and I felt then a most exquisite pain.

An Advocate of the Parliament, who travelled the same road, pitying my condition, desired those who were appointed to conduct me, to take off the manacles: but had much ado to persuade them to it. I was then considerably eased; but it was impossible for me to hold a pen to write, in a fortnight's time.

Some days after my arrival at Rennes, I appeared before the Great Chamber; and was commanded to hold up my hand, and [to] swear to answer truly and directly the Interrogatories which should be made unto me.

They asked me first, my Name and Profession; and then, Why I had settled myself in a foreign country, contrary to the King's Orders?

I own I was then struck with such a terror that I could hardly speak: but they bade me to be assured, and to answer the Questions that were put to me.

This having revived me; I told them, 'I had left my native country because JESUS CHRIST, the King of Kings, commanded me to fly from that country, where I could not enjoy the Liberty of Conscience; and [to] retire into another.'

The First President told me, That Persecution was a great Evil: but added, That I was not to be ignorant that Saint PAUL commands to obey Kings, not only in temporal things; but likewise for Conscience.

I replied, That, likely, Saint PAUL did not understand that passage in the sense of his Lordship: 'for if he did so, my Lord!' said I to the President, 'why did he not obey NERO?'

He asked me afterwards, Whether I had fired upon the King's subjects? But understanding that my ship had no Guns, nor any other offensive Arms, he asked me, Whether I would have fired upon them, if I had been in a capacity to do it?

I replied, That it was natural for a man to defend his estate and goods. Whereupon he interrupted me, in these words. 'It is a great misfortune for you to be born in that Religion; and that the HOLY GHOST has not enlightened you! Withdraw!'

I was remanded to the Prison; and, two hours after, the Attorney General came to tell me, That if I would change my Religion, I should have my Pardon; and that they would help me to a good employment at Brest.

I gave him the same Answer I had given to the King's Attorney at Saint Malo, *viz.*, That I was ready to lose my life, rather than renounce my Religion. Whereupon he went away; commanding to put me to the Chain [*Chain-gang*], with some other Galley Slaves.

It was on the 3rd of April 1693, that I was tied to the Great Chain, with fifty-nine other Slaves, which were condemned to that dreadful punishment: some for Desertion, others for defrauding the King's duties upon Salt [*La Gabelle*], and others for horrid crimes, as Robbery and Murder; and four for Rapes.

It rained almost all that month; so that we could hardly travel five leagues a day: and when we arrived at night at any village or town to lie, they put us, as so many beasts, into stables; where, though always wet and dirty, we often wanted straw to lie upon. We had three pence halfpenny a day for our nourishment: but it often happened that we could find no bread for our money in those villages, where we were obliged to lie [the night], upon the road.

When they put us in these stables; they fastened both ends of the Chain to the walls: so that we had only the liberty to lie down; but not to stir at all.

That hard fatigue, and the coldness of the water, threw me into a bloody flux [*dysentry*]: and, being unable to walk, I gave 40 Livres [= £4] to our Captain, to obtain the liberty to be carried in a cart: happy to have found a man whose cruelty could be melted with money!

As we went through all the capital Cities of the Provinces that lie between Brest and Marseilles, our number increased apace: for we took above 60 other Slaves at Saumur and Angers, condemned for various crimes. We recruited also at Tours, Bourges, and Lyons: insomuch that we were upwards of 150 men when we arrived. It is indeed a horrid spectacle to see such a number of men fastened to a Chain; and exposed to so many miseries, that Death is not so hard, by half, as this punishment.

We arrived at Marseilles on the 10th of May [1693]; and, about the same time, [there] arrived also 800 other Slaves from several parts of the Kingdom.

We were divided in Forty lots: and I and several others were sent on board the 'Magnanime,' commanded by Monsieur DE SOISAN.

There were on board that Galley, six persons upon account of their Religion: and, amongst them, there were three very timorous and fearful; who sometimes had the weakness to comply, in some manner, with the Idolators

of the mystical Babylon. GOD was pleased to send me thither to encourage them; and my example and exhortations wrought such an impression upon them, that they resolved to glorify the name of their Saviour openly, and without any disguise.

One of them told the First Lieutenant of the Galley, with a Christian courage and resolution, That he had indeed been so unhappy as to faint under the weight of the Persecution; but that he begged GOD's pardon for that crime: and that he abhorred the Idolatry of the Church of Rome.

They told him, in my hearing, That they would make him expire, under beating: but he answered, That, by the grace of GOD, he was ready to die!

This was enough to kindle the fury of the Captain of the Galley against me: who complained that, since I had arrived, that man had discontinued to do 'his duty,' to use his own phrase; for so they speak of such, who have the weakness to go to Mass, etc.

This incensed them so much against me, that they resolved to treat me with a greater severity than the rest of the Slaves: and loaded me with two chains; whereas the others had but one.

There happened, some time after, another thing, which considerably increased their rage. A Roman Catholic Slave on board the 'Guerrière,' for having deserted the King's Service, (observing that the Officers used more severity on Monsieur [PIERRE] CARRIÈRE than any others; and understanding he was there only for refusing to change his Religion) had the curiosity to know from him, What was the Religion, he maintained with so much constancy and magnanimity?

That faithful Confessor explained to him the principles thereof; and gave him a New Testament, translated by Father [DENIS] AMELOT.

I was informed thereof, and writ to him some Letters to encourage him to go on with the examination of our Religion: to which he applied himself with so much sincerity that, upon Easter Day next following [11 April 1694 N.S.], he refused to worship the Host: and had the courage to declare to his Captain, That he would never own himself any more a Roman Catholic.

They loaded him with two chains; and used him with a most barbarous severity. They searched immediately his pockets; and having found therein some of my Letters; my Persecutors were enraged against me, and made me sufficiently fear the effects of their Fury.

Their barbarous usage did not fright[en] our new Proselyte into any compliance: for GOD has so strengthened him, that, for these five years since he has been, and is still [1699], a most glorious Confessor to his Name.

When my enemies saw that their chains and other hardships wrought no impression upon me; they writ to the Court, That I spoke English; and was perpetually a writing.

This reason was sufficient for them to obtain an Order to transfer me from the Galleys into the Prison of the Citadel of Marseilles.

But before I speak of the cruelties they exercised upon me; I think it may not be improper to give a Short Account of the hardships the Slaves are exposed to.

They are Five upon every form [*bench*], fettered with a heavy chain, which is about ten or twelve feet long. They shave their heads from time to time, as a sign of their Slavery; and are not allowed to wear any hats or periwigs: but the King allows them, every year, a Cap, with two Shirts, two pairs of Drawers of the coarsest linen, a sort of Upper Coat of a reddish stuff, and a Capote [*great-coat, or cloak*] (but it is to be observed, that they have, of late, but one Coat and Capote every two years), and two pairs of Stockings, every year.

They have only beans, and nothing else, for their food; with about fourteen ounces of coarse bread a day: and never a drop of wine, whilst they are in Port. They are devoured in winter by lice; and in summer by bugs and fleas; and are forced to lie one upon another, as hogs in a sty. I shall not take notice, in this place, of the barbarity they are used with, by the Officers of the Galleys: which is beyond imagination.

The Protestants are obnoxious [*exposed, liable*] to all these miseries; and to a great many others besides. They are not allowed to receive any money from their friends and relations; unless it be very privately. They are, every

day, threatened and tormented by Priests and Friars: who, being unable to convince them by reasons, think that severity alone can do it. To this I must add, the trouble and vexation a Christian Soul is afflicted with, to live with wicked and desperate fellows; who never use the tremendous name of GOD, but for cursing and swearing.

On the 3rd of May in the year 1694, Orders came from the Court to transfer me into the Prison of the Citadel [*i.e.* Fort Saint Nicolas]: and I was put into the same Dungeon wherein Monsieur LAUBONNIÈRE, one of our most illustrious Confessors, died, seven months before.

I was forced to lie upon the stones: for I could not obtain, for a year together, any bed, nor even straw, to lie upon. There was a strict order to suffer nobody to speak to me; nor me to write to anybody: and the Aide-Major [*Assistant Major*] came every night to search my pockets, when he had taken his round.

Though my condition was as miserable as possible, nobody took pity on me; and the victuals they gave me were hardly sufficient to keep me alive.

In the meantime, GOD, out of his infinite love, afforded me such comforts, that I little regarded the miseries I was reduced to.

I remained there about a year, without seeing anybody; but, about that time, the Director of Conscience of the then Governor came to see me, as they were bringing me my dinner.

He had hardly looked upon me, but he cried out, 'Lord! in what condition are you, Sir!'

I replied, 'Sir, do not pity me! For could you but see the secret pleasures my heart experiences; you would think me too happy!'

He told me, That the greatest Sufferings did not entitle a man to the glory of Martyrdom, unless he were so happy as to suffer for Truth and Justice.

Which I granted him; but told him withal, That the HOLY GHOST had sealed that Truth in my heart; and that [that] very thought was my comfort in all my afflictions.

That Priest, taking his leave of me, wished that GOD would multiply his grace on me! and sent me a straw-bed to lie upon.

I continued Twenty-two months [May 1694—March 1696] in that Prison; without changing any clothes: my beard being as long as the hair of my head; and my face as pale as plaster.

There was, just under me, a generous Confessor, whom they had so much tormented that they had turned his brains; but, having some good intervals, had always reason enough to refuse to comply with their desires.

He asked me, one morning, with a loud voice, How I did?

This was immediately reported to the Governors, whereupon I was immediately removed into another Prison: where I continued very little [time]; because of my singing of Psalms, though I sung with a very low voice, that I might disturb nobody.

I was put, on the 20th of May 1696, in a subterraneous Hole; wherein I remained till the 1st of July next following.

Then I was sent, together with the distracted person I have named, by express Order from the Court, to the Château d'If, about five miles from Marseilles, in the mouth of the harbour.

They had likewise, five weeks before, sent thither three other persons from the same Citadel. We were all, at first, in different Prisons; but as five Sentinels were required to keep us, they obtained leave from the Court to put us together in a secure place: so that, on the 20th of August, I and the poor Gentleman I have spoken of, were put into a Hole; and the other three into another.

The place was so disposed, that we were obliged to go down a ladder into a dry ditch; and then go up the same ladder into an old Tower, through a cannon hole [*embrasure*].

The vault, or arch, wherein we were put, was as dark as if there had been no manner of light in heaven; stinking; and so miserably dirty, that I verily believe there is not a more dismal place in the world.

We might have received some money to help us in this great distress: but they would not suffer it. So that all our senses were attacked at once. Sight, by darkness; Taste, by hunger; Smell, by the stench of the place; Seeing, by lice and other vermin; and Hearing, by the horrid blasphemies and cursing which the Soldiers, who were obliged

1698. Neau is delivered ; being a British Subject.

to bring us some victuals, vomited against GOD and our holy Religion.

The Missionaries (who flattered themselves that we could not resist much longer) were almost enraged, when they saw our firm resolution to die in the Profession of our Religion; and therefore began to talk of nothing else, but of the Judgements of GOD. And thereupon, I could not forbear, one day, to tell them, That the Judgements of GOD were upon them; for he suffered them to fill up the measures of their crimes, in insulting over us in our miseries: but that GOD was just; and would not fail to avenge us, and [to] punish them according to their demerits.

Having continued six months in that Pit; my fellow-sufferer happening to die; I was removed into the other, with the other three Confessors. As that poor man was in his agony, he heard some of the Soldiers say, That it was necessary to send for the Chaplain. But he made a sign with his hand to testify his aversion to it; and so gave up the ghost unto the Lord.

We continued, all four, in the other Pit for some time, without seeing any light at all: but, at last, they gave us leave to have a lamp while we eat our victuals. The place being very damp; our clothes were rotten by this time.

But GOD was pleased to have mercy upon me, miserable sinner; and upon another of my fellow Sufferers: for, on the 3rd of July [1698], the Lord broke our fetters; the Right Honourable [WILLIAM BENTINCK,] the Earl of PORTLAND, then Extraordinary Ambassador to the Court of France, having reclaimed us, in His Majesty's name.

We left two of our companions in that dreadful Pit, and about 370 others on board the Galleys; where they glorify the name of GOD, with an unparalleled courage and constancy.

This is the Short, but Sincere, Account of my Sufferings: which I have written at the request of several eminent persons, as a means to comfort and rejoice in the Lord, the faithful Servants of JESUS CHRIST; and confound the Emissaries of SATAN, who would fain make the World believe that there is no Persecution in France.

And now, Bless the Lord, O, my Soul! and all that is within me, bless his holy name; and forget not his benefits! I love the Lord; because he hath heard my voice and my supplications. Because he hath inclined his ear unto me; therefore will I call upon him as long as I live! The sorrows of Death compassed me, and the pains of Hell got hold upon me. I found trouble and sorrow. Then called I upon the name of the Lord, 'O, Lord! I beseech thee, deliver my Soul!' Gracious is the Lord, and righteous; yea, our GOD is merciful! The Lord preserveth the simple. I was brought low; and he helped me. Return unto thy rest, O, my Soul! for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my Soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling. I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living. I believed, therefore have I spoken. I was greatly afflicted. I said in my haste 'All men are liars!' What shall I render unto the Lord, for all his benefits towards me? I will take the Cup of Salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord! I will pay my vows unto the Lord, now in the presence of all his people! Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his Saints. O, Lord! truly I am thy servant! I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid. Thou hast loosed my bonds. I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the Name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord, now in the presence of all his people. In the Courts of the Lord's House, in the midst of thee, O, Jerusalem! Praise ye the Lord!

ELIAS NEAU.

A True and Exact List of the French
Protestants, Slaves on board the French
Galleys, for adhering to the Profession
of the Protestant Religion.
[July 1698.]

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Gallies.</i>
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AT MARSEILLES.

On board the 'Fortune.'

Montauban.	Monsieur PIERRE SERRES senior.	1686
Vivaraïs.	ANTOINE GRANGE.	1689
Cevennes.	PIERRE GASCUEL.	1691
Provence.	MATTHIEU PELANCHON.	1689
Givaudan.	ANTOINE PELECUER.	1691
	ANTOINE AGULHON.	1695
Languedoc.	JEAN MARVEGE.	1686
Dauphiny.	ISAAC APOSTOLICK.	
Nîmes.	PIERRE BOULOGNE.	1686
Switzerland.	PIERRE JORAM.	TEN.

On board the 'France.'

Montauban.	Monsieur JEAN SERRES junior.	1686
Abbeville.	JEAN LEPICIER.	1691
Poitou.	CHARLES BOUIN.	1688
Near Gonesse.	JEAN ROUSLEAU.	1693
Saintonge.	JACQUES POISSAN	1689
Poitou.	NICOLAS JOSUE.	1692
Switzerland.	JEAN PIERRE CLERC.	1693
Near Amiens.	MOÏSE FOACHE.	EIGHT.

The 'Grande,' or 'Great.'

Valleys of Piedmont.	Monsieur JEAN MUSSETON.	1689
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<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
Cevennes.	Monsieur ANTOINE CHABERT.	1696
Cevennes.	LOUIS MANNUEL.	1689
Dauphiny.	PIERRE BOYER.	
Dauphiny.	ANTOINE MERCIER.	FIVE. 1689

The 'Fidele,' or 'Trusty.'

Tierache.	Monsieur JEAN DUBUI.	1691
Rojan.	Monsiel DANIEL GOUIN.	1693
Languedoc.	JACQUES PERIDIER.	1693
Francastel.	NICOLAS DAUBIGNY. (a Proselyte)	
Vivaraïs.	JEAN SAMSON.	
Lyons.	JOSEPH GUIGUE.	
London.	MATTHEW TEREY.	SEVEN. 1697

The 'Brave.'

Languedoc.	JEAN BOUVELY.	1689
Anduze.	PIERRE LAFON.	1688
Cevennes.	ANDRÉ BOUSQUET.	1696
Quercy.	{ Messieurs ABEL DAMOUIN, and ETIENNE DAMOUIN, of a noble family. }	1690
Cevennes.	MICHEL GASCUEL.	SIX. 1689

The 'Hardie,' or 'Bold.'

Nîmes.	Monsieur FRANCOIS SABATTIER.	1683
Cevennes.	GUILLAUME ROUX.	1690
Niort.	ELIE ERUAN.	1688
Dauphiny.	MARC GRESSE.	1689
Languedoc.	DAVID LAUVET.	1688
Cevennes.	Monsieur BAPTISTE BANCILHON.	1689
Vivaraïs.	Monsieur LOUIS DUCLAUX.	1689
Dauphiny.	JEAN LAMBERT.	1689
Dauphiny.	PHILIPPE TARDIEU.	1688
Anduze.	DAVID PUEC.	1688
Anduze.	JEAN NEGRE.	
Montauban.	JEAN JACQUES.	TWELVE.

The 'Dame,' or 'Lady.'

Castillon, near Bergerac.	{ Monsieur BARTHÉLMI GAUMA.	1689.
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Protestant Slaves on board the Galleys.

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
Dauphiny.	JEAN ROSEVEAU.	1689
Dauphiny.	JEAN MARIN.	1689
Dauphiny.	ALEXANDRE VACHER.	1689
Dauphiny.	MOÏSE RENAULT.	1689
Dauphiny.	PIERRE RENAULT.	1689
Anduze.	PIERRE VALLAT.	1689
Dauphiny.	DANIEL BOREL.	1689
Anduze.	DAVID CONTE.	NINE. 1689

The 'Gloire,' or 'Glory.'

Nimes.	Marc ANTOINE REBOUL.	1689
Dauphiny.	DANIEL JAUVEL.	1689
Dauphiny.	MARC ODOU.	1689
Vivarais.	JEAN PIERRE DINTRE.	1689
Vivarais.	JOSEPH CORBIÈRE.	1690
Switzerland.	ETIENNE FERINEAU.	1689
Normandy.	PIERRE L'ORPHELIN.	1689
Languedoc.	MOÏSE BRISSAC.	1690
Vivarais.	PIERRE SAUZET.	1689
Dauphiny.	JEAN VINCENT MALLET.	1689
Valleys of Piedmont.	JEAN GENDRE.	1689
Cevennes.	PIERRE CHAPELLE.	1689
Negrepelisse.	JEAN CAPELLE.	THIRTEEN.

The 'Heroine.'

Uzès.	CLAUDIUS SAUVET.	1688
Bordaux in Dauphiny.	PIERRE GARNIER.	
Brie.	NICOLAS ROBLINE.	1698
Alais.	PIERRE MAILHEY.	1691
Nimes.	JEAN VILLARET.	1688
Alais.	ETIENNE ARNOUT.	SIX. 1691

The 'Guerrière,' or 'Warlike.'

Bourdeaux.	JEAN FAYAN. (a Proselyte)	
Languedoc.	Monsieur PIERRE CARRIÈRE.	1686
Dieppe.	Monsieur JEAN ARDANT.	1687
Bearn.	Monsieur LOUSTALLET.	1687
Gascogny.	PIERRE AUGEREAU.	FIVE. 1691

The 'Belle,' or 'Beautiful.'

Saintonge.	Monsieur JACQUES RULLAUD.	1693
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Protestant Slaves on board the Galleys. 1698.

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
Bearn.	Monsieur JEAN CAZALLET.	1687
Dauphiny.	ETIENNE TARDIEU.	
Alais.	JEAN ESPASE.	1691
Givaudan.	PIERRE QUET.	FIVE.

The 'Reine,' or 'Queen.'

Dauphiny.	PIERRE RICHARD.	1688
Valleys of Piedmont.	DAVID VOLLE.	1692
Languedoc.	PIERRE QUAY.	1693
Sedan.	HENRI DELO.	FOUR.

The 'Illustre,' or 'Illustrious.'

Nimes.	Monsieur CLAUDIUS JOUSSAUD.	1686
Cevennes.	JEAN SEVERAL.	1692
Switzerland.	CHARLES MAJOR.	THREE. 1686

The 'Magnanime,' or 'Magnanimous.'

Vivarais.	ALEXANDRE ASTIER.	1689
Cevennes.	JEAN MARTIN,	1692
Saintonge.	SIMON PINEAU.	1690
Cevennes.	{ Monsieur MARC ANTOINE CAPDU, a Gentleman.	
	ABRAHAM DAUDE.	1689
	JEAN MERCIER.	SIX. 1687

The 'Souveraine,' or 'Sovereign.'

Poitou.	DANIEL BENET.	ONE.
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The 'Sirene,' or 'Mermaid.'

Cevennes.	JEAN MITCHELL.	1692
Givaudan.	PIERRE MOULIN.	1690
Languedoc.	ISAAC LUNADIER.	1689
Nimes.	JEAN ROUVIEN.	1689
Languedoc.	Monsieur JACQUES SERGUIÈRES.	1686
Vitry le Francois.	JACQUES MOREL.	1686
Dauphiny.	JEAN MARCELIN.	
Gascogny.	ANTOINE PLATON.	EIGHT.

The 'Galante,' or 'Gallant.'

Cevennes.	JEAN SOULAGE.	1691
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1698. Protestant Slaves on board the Gallies.

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Gallies.</i>
Cevennes.	JEAN DURRAND.	1689
Saintonge.	PIERRE GRIMAUD.	1689
Valleys of Piedmont.	PIERRE BONNET.	1689
Bergerac.	Monsieur ELIE PICHOT.	1692
Bergerac.	Monsieur ARMAND DU QUEYLA.	1692
Bergerac.	SAMSON LABUSCAGNE.	1692
Saintonge.	JACOB ALBERT.	EIGHT. 1689

The 'Perle,' or 'Pearl.'

Dauphiny.	FRANCOIS AUGIER.	1689
Cevennes.	JACQUES PICMARIN.	1692
Dauphiny.	ALEXIS BRUNEL.	1689
Champagne.	JEAN CHAMINON.	
Bergerac.	JACQUES MARTEL.	1692
Bergerac.	AARON GUERARD.	SIX. 1692

The 'Valeur,' or 'Valour.'

Saintonge.	PIERRE ALLARD.	1693
Vivaraïs.	Monsieur FRANCOIS ROCHEBILIÈRE.	1693
Dauphiny.	PIERRE ALIX.	1687
Dauphiny.	JEAN GALIEN.	1695
Conde in Brie.	PIERRE BERTEAUD.	1696
Piccardy.	DANIEL BOULONNOIS.	SIX. 1696

The 'Vaillante,' or 'Stout.'

Dauphiny.	ANDRÉ THIERS.	1689
Languedoc.	JEAN FLAVART.	1693
Normandy.	JACQUES PINET.	THREE 1691

The 'Invincible.'

Havre de Grace.	JEAN CAMPION.	1689
Lucerne.	PIERRE RAUBERT.	TWO 1689

The 'Saint Louis.'

Languedoc.	PIERRE PERIDIER.	1693
Cevennes.	JACQUES SABATIER.	TWO 1695

The 'Forte,' or 'Strong.'

Lausanne.	JEAN FRANCOIS DU MOULIN.	1690
Cevennes.	JEAN LIRON	1691
Havre de Grace.	PIERRE PETEL	THREE 1689

Protestant Slaves on board the Gallies.

1698.

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Gallies.</i>
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The 'Couronne,' or 'Crown.'

Poitou.	ANDRÉ GAZEAU.	ONE 1687
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The 'Duchesse,' or 'Duchess.'

Lausanne.	ABRAHAM TOUVENAIN.	1689
Cevennes.	DANIEL TOYSSONNIERE.	TWO 1692

The 'Renommée,' or 'Fame.'

Dauphiny.	JEAN VEAU.	1693
Uzès.	ISRAEL BOUCHET.	TWO.

The 'Dauphine,' or 'Dauphiness.'

Bergerac.	JACQUES FAURET.	
Valleys of Piedmont.	JEAN BERU.	1689
Saintonge.	ELIE RIANJEAUD.	THREE. 1689

The 'Conquerante,' or 'Conquering.'

Meaux in Brie.	LOUIS COCHET,	1687
Meaux in Brie.	JACQUES COCHET.	1687
Dauphiny.	ETIENNE MEUNIER.	1688
Vivaraïs.	DANIEL ARSAU.	FOUR. 1696

The 'Fleur de Lis,' or 'Flower de Luce.'

Dauphiny.	ETIENNE FER.	1689
Vivaraïs.	JACQUES CHAU.	1692
Languedoc.	PIERRE SILVAIN.	1687
County of Foix.	JOSEPH LAFON.	FOUR. 1697

The 'Fière,' or 'Proud.'

Dauphiny.	JACQUES VIGNE.	ONE. 1688
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The 'Favorite,' or 'Favourite.'

Bearn.	PIERRE TOUREILLE. (a Proselyte)	1686
Vivaraïs.	PIERRE MAZEL.	1689
Vivaraïs.	ANDRÉ MEUNIER.	1689
Boulonnais.	Monsieur ELIE FRANCOIS LE DOUX.	1690
Languedoc.	JEAN JACQUES MEYNADIER.	1689
Languedoc.	DAVID DOUVIER.	1689
Châtellerault in Poitou.	} ELIE MAURIN.	SEVEN. 1686

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
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The 'Vieille Reale,' or 'Old Royal.'

Vaissat in Quercy.	Monsieur ANDRÉ VALLETE.	1686
Châtellerault.	Monsieur CARDIN GUILLEMOT.	1687
Saintonge.	Monsieur PIERRE PERAUD.	1693
Dauphiny.	PIERRE DIDIER.	1690
Dauphiny.	JEAN JULIEN.	1688
Cevennes.	ANTOINE MEJANIN.	1689
	Monsieur JEAN GARNIER.	1686
Normandy.	Monsieur PHILIPPE ALLIX.	1686
Saintonge.	Monsieur PAUL PELETAN.	1689
Cevennes.	PIERRE D'ALGUE.	1692
Languedoc.	DANIEL CROS.	1689
Languedoc.	ANTOINE ASTRIC.	1692
Languedoc.	ETIENNE BERTRAND.	1691
Vivaraïs.	PIERRE PRALOYER.	1690
Cevennes.	PIERRE RAIMOND.	1692
Cevennes.	LOUIS CAPELIER.	1692
Dreux.	JEAN PIRON.	
Dauphiny.	PHILIPPE TURE.	1686
Dauphiny.	JEAN PRUNIER.	1689
Geneva.	Monsieur JEAN FRANCOIS MALBLANC.	1687
Champagne.	ABRAHAM JANOIR.	1684
Dauphiny.	ANTOINE BOVENE.	1689
County of Foix.	JOACHIM LAUTRE.	
	ETIENNE BARNAVON.	1689
Champagne.	CLAUDIUS ODOT.	1688
Languedoc.	JEAN DAUDÉ.	TWENTY-SIX. 1693

The 'Grande Reale,' or 'Great Royal.'

Tremblade.	Monsieur ELIE BONNIN.	1689
Saintonge.	JEAN BILIAUD.	1693
Rochelle.	JEAN PIERRE.	
Rochelle.	HENRI BENETEAU.	1693
Dauphiny.	BERTRAND AUVELLE.	1687
Languedoc.	JEAN MAURIN.	
Languedoc.	CHARLES MELON.	1691
Saintonge.	JEAN TOURTELOT.	1686
Poitou.	DANIEL CONTE.	1690
Quercy.	ISAAC PETIT.	1688
Vivaraïs.	DAVID REBOUL.	1688

Protestant Slaves on board the Galleys. 1698.

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
Croicy in Normandy.	Monsieur DANIEL BOURGET.	1697
Croicy in Normandy.	Monsieur SOLOMON BOURGET.	1697
Croicy in Normandy.	Monsieur BENJAMIN GERMAIN.	1697
Diocese of Castres.	Monsieur JEAN SENEGAL.	1697
Diocese of Castres.	ISAAC BONNET.	1697
Diocese of Castres.	ETIENNE CROS.	1697
Vivarais.	CLAUDIUS LAURENT.	
This is a foreigner.	JOHN JAMES SHEBERT.	
Cevennes.	DAVID SAGET.	1698
Cevennes.	PIERRE BERTRAND.	1698
Uzès.	PIERRE MARTINIQUE.	1698
London.	WILLIAM MARCH.	1697
Languedoc.	ANTOINE PELATON.	1698
Languedoc.	PIERRE ROUMEGEON.	1698
Languedoc.	DAVID TACHE.	1698
Languedoc.	JEAN ANTOINE PONTIS.	1698
Pompidou.	ETIENNE GOUT.	1698
Pompidou.	LAURENCE FOUQUIER.	1698
Cevennes.	DAVID LEGER.	THIRTY. 1698

These two 'Reales' are called Invalides, or Hospitals.

Upon the Galleys in the Ocean.

AT BORDEAUX.

On the 'Ambitious'; or 'Emerald.'

	Monsieur Marc ANTOINE DAMOUMIN.	1690
Nimes.	JEAN GACHON.	1689
Nimes.	PIERRE BASTIDE.	1689
Pompidou.	PIERRE MEYNADIER.	1689
Mande.	CESAR COMBET.	1692
Dauphiny.	JEAN COMERC.	1689
Dauphiny.	ETIENNE PECHEU.	1690
Quercy.	ISAAC GRIMAL.	1690
Normandy.	ANTOINE DURAND.	1689
Provence.	PIERRE BOETIAS.	1689

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
Castres.	DAVID LOUP.	1693
Cevennes.	ANTOINE PEYRIER.	1690
Saintonge.	DANIEL RAMÉ.	THIRTEEN.

The 'Princess'; or 'Warlike.'

	PIERRE CAPELAN.	
Dauphiny.	JACQUES BLANC.	1689
Languedoc.	JEAN GIRAUD.	1691
Languedoc.	JACQUES DUPON.	1691
Cevennes.	PIERRE DUMAS.	FIVE. 1691

AT BREST.

The 'Amazon'; or 'Marchioness.'

Neuchâtel in Switzerland.	} Monsieur JOSEPH BOIS DE LA TOUR.	1687
Dauphiny.		1689
Languedoc.	JEAN DAUDÉ.	1692
Beziers.	BARTHÉLMI RESSIGNOL.	1689
Havre de Grace.	ABRAHAM LENU.	1689
Saintonge.	PIERRE BORRUE.	1689
Dauphiny.	JEAN SEIMENE.	1689
Tournay.	JACQUES DUFOUR.	EIGHT. 1689

The 'Shining'; or 'Triumphant.'

Dauphiny.	Monsieur CLEMENT PATONNIER.	1686
Cevennes.	ETIENNE SALLES.	1691
Cevennes.	PIERRE MAISTRE.	THREE. 1689

AT SAINT MALO.

The 'Firm'; or 'Palm.'

Saintonge.	Monsieur FRANCOIS PINDOU.	1686
Pompidou.	JEAN REVOLE.	1690
Cevennes.	JEAN BANCILION.	1689
Dauphiny.	PIERRE BARRAQUE.	FOUR. 1691

<i>The Names of the Places of their Birth.</i>	<i>Names of the Protestants.</i>	<i>The Years they were sent to the Galleys.</i>
<i>The 'Victory'; or the 'Fortunate.'</i>		
Languedoc.	MATTHIEU LA MARTE.	1690
Dauphiny.	ANTOINE BREYNARD.	1689
Dauphiny.	PIERRE BLANC.	1689
Languedoc.	ANTOINE SECOND.	1691
Champagne.	DANIEL REIGE.	1689
Cevennes.	JEAN BARTE.	SIX. 1691

These are the names of such Slaves, which it has been possible to procure: for they are so vigilantly observed, that it is very difficult for them to write; and so there are a great number of them, whose Names or Country [*Province*] are unknown to us.

It may be observed, in the foregoing List, that there are some Foreigners amongst them: and we must add that there are a great number of them, who are English Denizens [*Citizens, though alien born*]; or [were] taken in His Majesty's Service.

Some, doubtless, are dead since this List; and Twenty-two were lately set at liberty, by the solicitation of the Dutch Ambassador at Paris: but they have been sufficiently recruited; seeing One hundred and forty men, coming from [the Principality of] Orange to pray to GOD, were sent to the Galleys at once; besides a great many more, afterwards.

A Faithful Account
of the
Cruelties done to the Protestants
on board the French King's Gallies,
on the account of the Reformed Religion.

Done out of the French [Text,
printed in Holland.]

London.
Printed for J. Nutt,
near Stationers Hall.
1700.

An Abstract of some Letters ; wherein are
related the horrible Cruelties done to the
French Protestant Slaves on board
the Galleys, on the account of
the Reformed Religion.

THE FRENCH NATION, which has formerly valued itself, above all the World, for its Humanity and Generosity, is no longer to be known by either of these Characters. For, alas, the Spirit of Persecution has so embittered the tempers of such as were otherwise good-natured, that nothing in the whole World comes nigh them for Cruelty and Barbarity. We have seen nothing so horrible, since the Account of the Outrages committed in the Spanish Conquest of America, published by BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, one of their Bishops.

The French Protestants have, for a long time, been silent under the severity of their ill usage ; or have only whispered their complaints of it : the reason of which may be easily guessed. But now their barbarous Persecutors have carried things to that extremity, that there is nothing left them, either to hope or fear. The worst that can be done to these faithful Servants of GOD is, to kill them : the only thing in the World they most wish.

Now, that we might not be tempted to aggravate anything in this Account, we have strictly kept to the Relation given us in the Letters of such as are the daily Spectators of these horrible objects ; amongst which [Writers], some are of the Roman Communion.

We might have given the World a more methodical and more

moving Account of these matters: but we thought it best to leave it to Nature to speak without Art; the air of native Simplicity being more proper to convince all people, that here is nothing invented, or insincere. In short, we have extracted nothing out of those Letters but pure Matters of Fact. For if we should have made Reflections on these things; we should have made a Volume: a very instructive one indeed! for we should then have seen the marvellous Submission, Patience, and Resignation, of those holy Confessors.

That exactness to which one that copies from others is restrained, will compel us to make some repetitions of the same things; but these are so many different Witnesses and Testimonies of the same Matters of Fact: and yet we have shunned Repetitions as much as possible; and have written nothing, but what we can prove by [the] several Letters.

ONE, JEAN SOULAGE, a plain and innocent youth of Sainte Cruce in Sevena, [*Cevennes*, see page 274,] a Slave on board the Galley called the 'Gallant,' being in the Summer Campaign [*Cruise*] of 1699, having constantly refused to pull off his Hat before the Host, after many instances, received at first a thousand abuses by words, kicks, and blows with a cane, before they brought him to the Bastonade. And as the Martyr continued to refuse it with resolution; the Captain, accompanied with other Officers and the Chaplain, ordered him to be stripped stark naked, and to be laid at his full stretch upon the Coursey [*Gangway*], that is, the place on which the Officers walk betwixt the benches of the Slaves; and made them give him so cruel a Bastonade, that the Chaplain, fearing lest his victim should die on the spot, ordered them to give over; saying, 'It is enough.'

This poor SOULAGE received so many blows, both on the Coursey and the Benches, that it flayed off all his skin; and, instead of skin, his body was crusted over with one entire scab, under which abundance of purulent matter bred: and, by the blows given him, he lost one of his arms, insomuch that the Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*] told the 'Comite' (that is, the Boatswain of the Slaves), that if they persisted in beating this poor young man, he could not live four days longer. Upon which, these Executioners ceased their outrages a little while.

December 15 1699. You have here that which we hear has been done on board the Gallies, called the 'Valour,' the 'Queen,' the 'Gallant,' the 'Renown,' and others. They have given the Bastonade twice, or thrice, in the harbour and at sea.

PIERRE SAUVET, of Montelus in the diocese of Uzès, is dead of it. ISRAEL BOUCHET, LOUIS ISOIRE, and JEAN VIAU, have undergone the same punishment. An Officer of the Stern sent for the said SAUVET, and another called

JEAN VIAU, to make them see how the backs of the others were mangled and all of a gore blood, to terrify them : and, indeed, this sight, together with the cruel blows they received, was very terrible. But, notwithstanding all this, they persevered constantly ; and, in a few days after, SAUVET died of their barbarity.

In February 1700, the Chaplain of the 'Magnanime' ordered Monsieur ANTOINE CAPDUC to be most cruelly bastonaded : because he had, as he said, lately complied, and would not do it now ; being penitent for his Fall. This blessed Servant of GOD suffered this torment with an admirable patience.

They thought, the next day, to fright him into a compliance, by the terror of renewing the same punishment. But he answered, He was ready for it ; and had but one life to lose for his Saviour's sake.

And, accordingly he was, on the 2nd of February [1700], stretched all along ; and bound fast with cords to two cross-pieces of timber, to make him assist at the Saying of the Mass : and [they] gave him, at the same time, a thousand blows on his back. This lamentable sight occasioned the Slaves to give little attention to the Mass.

At the same time, FRANCOIS AUGIER and JACQUES PIEMARIN suffered a cruel Bastonade ; because they would not put off their Caps to the Host. AUGIER underwent it twice ; and they had a mind to bring him to it the third time : but the Surgeon prevented it by saying, that if they did it, the man would give up the ghost under the blows. And indeed he was very sick, and like[ly] to die of it.

August the 9th [1700], they gave the Bastonade to ISRAEL BOUCHET, a Slave on board the 'Renown' : but a more barbarous one to DAVID LAGET, on board the 'Magnificent' ; because he refused to reverence the Host. The Captain told him, That he was to be bastonaded, either till he complied, or should die under the blows : and, indeed, by being so cruelly used, he was left nearer death than life.

But, for all that, they renewed the punishment this very day, August the 9th ; and caused a lusty and strong Turk to strike above one hundred blows upon his naked body. The execution being over, and the man unable to stir hand or foot ; he was taken up by four men, and cast

into the 'Rougeole,' that is, the Sink [*Bilge*] of the Galley, loaden with chains. And a Turk having uttered some words expressing his compassion; he was laid on the Coursey; and received the Bastonade for it.

March the 26th 1700, ANTOINE CAPDUC, FRANCOIS AUGIER, ISRAEL BOUCHET, JACQUES PIERMARIN, and others, have been handled with the utmost cruelty. But, particularly, JEAN SOULAGE hath been so ill used, that he is past recovery: his body being made at first but one wound, it turned afterwards into a vast ulcer. When urged to comply, he answered, both with an admirable courage and meekness, That it was better to obey GOD than men; and that, for his part, he was ready to suffer death.

JEAN DURAND, on board the 'Magnanime,' was as ill-used as the others.

August the 18th [1700], TALON and SAUSSET, on board the 'Dauphine,' endured a sharp Bastonade: and, notwithstanding all, they remained constant and unmoveable. The Captain ordered the Boatswain to bang these miserable men to death, if they persisted in their refusal; which was performed accordingly: for they made a fresh onset upon these two, *viz.*, TALON and SAUSSET; as well as upon ISRAEL BOUCHET in the 'Renown', and upon another named BERNARD.

August the 20th [1700]. Besides the aforesaid TALON and SAUSSET; they have, this very day, inflicted, in the most cruel manner, the same punishment on Monsieur DUMOIN and Monsieur BOISQUES, Gentlemen born.

It is very fit that their Courage and Patience should be known by the testimony of a Roman Catholic. The contents of his Note, dated August the 20th, are these.

A few days ago, they so outrageously abused these miserable men that it deserves compassion. They gave the Bastonade to two of them: and, this morning, to four; among whom are these Gentlemen, Monsieur BOISQUES and Monsieur DUMOIN. I am not able to express how courageously they suffered it!

There is something extraordinary in this case. A poor old man of Vivarais, on board the 'Brave,' who had some days since undergone it, remained deprived of all sense and motion under the blows: but, for all that, they gave him as many blows as were appointed. In short, I could not be

able to tell you, how patiently they suffer. Let us pray to GOD Almighty, that he will be pleased to strengthen them, that they may bear up under the Torments prepared for them!

August the 16th 1700. One FAGUIN, a Proselyte, is, this very day, to be removed from the 'Warlike' Galley into the 'Faithful': where is one D'AUBIGNÉ, another Proselyte; who has embraced our Religion under the Cross. They are to be tried by a Council of War; and to die under the Bastonade.

October the 6th 1700. They give, every day, the Bastonade in four or five Gallies: but so cruelly, that the sufferers of it are almost killed by it. They spare neither young nor old, disabled nor sick, Gentlemen nor Scholars: their rage reaches to all. They have already given the Bastonade to a very great number of people.

October the 15th 1700. Monsieur SERRES senior, MORIN, CARRIÈRE, LOSTALET, ALEXANDRE ASTIER, ANTOINE GRANGE, ANDRÉ PELICAN, and PELEVIER, have been used with the most barbarous cruelty that can be thought, and brought to the last extremity; and, afterwards, they have been carried to the Hospital.

There are on board the 'Old Reale' a great many of our Brethren, old, maimed, and disabled; among whom, there is an eminent one, *viz.*, Monsieur ANDRÉ VALETTE: who was, in summer time, put near an oven, that he might burst [*die*] with the heat and smoke thereof; and in winter time, shut up in the 'Rougeole,' that is, the Sink [*Bilge*] of the Galley, where all the water and filth of the ship runs, and where the cold is sharper than anywhere else.

The Abstracts of several other Letters from Marseilles, concerning the Sufferings of the Confessors; since the things beforementioned in the Letters dated the 9th, and 20th, of August [1700].

SEPTEMBER THE 20TH and 24th [1700]. Our dear Brethren, the three DUMOIN brothers, and three others, have suffered fifty blows each: and, the next day, the same punishment was inflicted on them.

About the same time, they gave a very severe Bastonade to a Slave on board the 'Strong'; because he would not be uncovered at the time of the Service of the Popish Religion.

Some of our Brethren, the Slaves on board the 'Queen' Galley, were used after the same manner; particularly, DAVID VOLLE, born in Piedmont, who twice suffered the Bastonade. He was searched, as well as PIERRE GAY; and all their books and Letters taken from them. Our Brother, FOURTELET died September the 13th; well disposed and prepared for it.

The same Letters say, That on the 18th of September, both Monsieur DE MONTOLIEU the Commander, and the Major, went on board the 'Warlike'; and because the 'Argouzin,' that is, the Boatswain's Mate, had not fettered and bound up the Slaves in chains hard enough to his liking, the Commander upbraided, threatened, and boxed, him; and ordered that he should immediately be put into chains. He was still in chains on the 22nd; and narrowly observed.

Upon the 19th, they gave all the 'Argouzins' of the other Gallies the same Orders, not to take off the fetters from any of the Protestants: which Orders were repeated on the 22nd, upon pain of the gallows.

They add, That the said Officers went upon Sunday, September the 19th, on board the 'Magnanime,' about the refusal of putting off the Cap: for this is the only pretence, when they have a mind to overwhelm the Protestant Slaves with blows. They caused the Bastonade to be given to our Brethren that were there; to the number of eight. And because they could not, in the morning, overcome them; the same punishment was inflicted again, at Evening Prayers, in so barbarous a manner, that the very thought of it strikes one with horror.

When they were asking them, in the midst of their Torments, Whether they would put off their Caps, or not? one of them answered the unrighteous Persecutor, 'Strike! for the reason why I did expose myself as a Sacrifice, was not to put it off; but to let you know that I will never do it!' This we have from a Popish Slave in the same Galley; who called the Chaplain of it 'a Hangman!'

And for fear lest ALEXANDRE ASTIER, PINEAU, ROMAGEON, or CAPDUC, should put their hands on their deep wounds, though they had much ado to lift them up; the Persecutors were so cruel as to load them with manacles. The most courageous among them had them still.

The 24th, ASTIER sent word, He was very ill, and desired the Prayers of the Brethren; and that he was resolved to die. For it was given out, that they were ordered to try him, that very day, by a fresh onset.

The Chaplain of the 'Warlike' Galley has summoned, and charged the Slaves of his Galley to put off their Caps, under pain of the Bastonade. And because Monsieur LOSTALET, formerly one of the parishioners of Monsieur LA PLACETTE, and a very pious Gentleman, answered him very stoutly; the said Chaplain fell into a violent passion, and threatened him mightily. The brethren in that Galley are so narrowly kept, that it is almost impossible for one to come near them.

They have likewise threatened the Protestant Slaves on board the 'Old Reale,' appointed for the disabled Slaves, with the Bastonade.

By Letters dated October the 1st, we hear, That, on the 25th of September, they have, once more, given the Bastonade on the 'Proud,' Galley, before the Major and the Captain.

1700. The Suffering Society, the Church, their Religion.

That, on the 27th and 28th, they did the same on the 'Queen' and 'Dauphine,' Galley. That in the last mentioned, the Boatswain, immediately after Evening Prayer, ordered that fifty blows should be given to BERRU, born at Piedmont, and to BONNEVAL; and this, out of his own private authority, to humour the barbarous Chaplain, who longed for the repast of this sight: but such dealing is quite contrary to Equity and Order; otherwise these new Inquisitors and Executioners, the Boatswains I mean, may, when they please, and without any Form of Process, butcher these miserable men.

That, on the 29th, ALEXANDRE ASTIER did suffer, once more, the Bastonade on the 'Magnanime' Galley; and again, the next day. This is the fourth time he hath undergone this cruel punishment. They add thereto, That the Lieutenant of the said Galley came on board on purpose to have the said ASTIER brought again to the same Torment: but seeing [that] he was not able to get up, he ordered the Surgeon to visit him; who found him sick of a great Fever, and almost dead. This was the reason why he was immediately sent to the Hospital, that it should not be said, That he died in the Galley of his wounds. But there is no likelihood of his recovery.

The thing which has enraged these furious men is, That this young man had, in the torment of his second Bastonade, promised to put off his Cap: but one of the Brethren having written to him with warmth and vigour; and represented to him the reproach that he would, by this base inconstancy, bring upon himself, upon the Suffering Society, upon the Church, and upon their Religion: it came to pass, within an hour and a half after that, as the Papists were saying their Prayers, he gave satisfaction for the fault he had committed; and declared openly, That his weakness had betrayed him; and that he had rather expiate his crime by his death than to commit it again. And when he was carried to the Hospital bruised with blows, and giving up the ghost; one of our Confessors, seeing him, said, with a loud voice, 'O, how lovely is he, in the condition in which he now is!'

On the 30th of September, they gave again, on board the 'Amazon,' Galley, so cruel a Bastonade, that blood came out of the mouth of MAURIN GRESLE; by reason of the blows given him.

October the 4th, They add, That, the day before, they had tied Monsieur ELIE MAURIN with a Popish Slave, to make him, that way, assist at Mass. That he complained of this violence; and hid himself under his seat, saying, He had rather die than comply. He exhorted his brethren to acquit themselves well in their duty; being resolved to encourage them more effectually by his own example.

Moreover, they send us these particulars; which happened on Monday morning, October the 4th, ‘They gave, just now, a General Order, either to put off the Cap; or to make an end of all those who will not do it. So that we do expect,’ say they, ‘this evening, or tomorrow, a great butchery.’

Such Order was punctually executed; as may be seen by Letters written afterwards, dated October the 11th, *viz.*, That Monsieur PIERRE SERRES, the eldest of those three worthy brothers, has, together with three other fellow Sufferers, twice undergone the terrible punishment of the Bastonade; that all their limbs are mostly cruelly torn in pieces; that they are bruised and bloody all over, by reason of their deep wounds, insomuch that the blood gushed out of Monsieur SERRES’s side; that he being left half-dead upon the Coursey, some other Slaves were fain to take him up; and that they have bound his hands with manacles, as a further addition of cruelty. Let them cry, and complain, never so much! this will not avail them, if they do not comply. They strike without any pity; yea, with such violence on the naked body that all the blows go to the very marrow, and make the body rebound half a foot high. When they are weary of striking, they allow them to rest till the next day; and then they begin again, and strike harder and harder on these mangled bodies, and upon the same wounds. Notwithstanding which, we are assured that these Confessors have suffered all these Outrages with an extraordinary and edifying Patience.

Among those who underwent this painful punishment, there were LA GRANGE and PELLEVIÉ; who are very sick of it. Monsieur ELIE MAURIN, a pious and zealous Confessor, whose virtue and constancy hath heretofore been tried in several sharp encounters, has, with another of the same Galley, borne all with great bravery; together with the two other Slaves of the ‘Fine’ Galley, *viz.* Monsieur RULLIAN

and Monsieur CARALET.

The fury of these Executioners is grown to such extremity, that they intended, on the 11th of October, in the morning, to inflict the same punishment upon Monsieur SERRES and some others: had not some friends found out a way to send them to the Hospital, as a shelter from these new Outrages.

They write that, on the same day, *viz.* the 12th, Monsieur MUSSON, a Vaudois, a very pious man, together with the other Protestants in his Galley, were to undergo the same trial: but, at the end of the Letter they add, That the execution was put off to the next day. I have in my hands a Note from Monsieur MUSSON to a friend of his in those parts; by which it appears that he prepares himself for his Sufferings with a holy and entire submission.

It is given out, That the Storm will reach all the other Gallies, and that the same punishment will be inflicted on all our Brethren that are Slaves in the ten Gallies that went out about a quarter of year ago; and which will soon, it is thought, return. So that these poor people will be so far from enjoying some ease in the haven after the hard fatigues of their Campaign [*Cruise*], that they will meet with a Storm in the harbour far more dreadful than any they have endured at sea.

The Letters from Marseilles, dated October the 15th [1700], represent unto us the Torments our Brethren are put to, thus:

The Wheel, on which the Martyrs of our blessed Lord formerly expired, was very sweet, if compared with the bitterness of our Sufferings; because their torments proceeded without intermission till Death gave them the Crown of Martyrdom. But our punishment which pierces into the very bones; which bruises, which tears, the skin off to the very blood; which makes all the back swell with the multitude of blows, given with a rope done over with pitch and tar, and dipped half a foot into the sea; and which leaves a man half-dead, by reason of One Hundred and Twenty blows given at one beating by a lusty Turk; who leaves us in that wretched condition, in order to begin again, in the afternoon, or the next morning, as fiercely and cruelly as ever; permitting these miserable men *to live thus*, that this barbarous usage may be the more lasting; and that they may be put naked again upon the Coursey [*Gangway*].

Striking till they be weary, and out of breath. 1700-

There is something, I say, in this punishment more dreadful and terrible than the Wheel: for they are *upon the point of death*, and yet they are not put to death; and the Executioners never give over striking till they be weary, and out of breath; and are forced to send the Sufferers to the Hospital. Who could forbear trembling, and being deeply affected, at the sight of so amazing a spectacle! Who could believe that such as bear the name of Christians could harden their bowels to that degree, as to inflict such horrible torments!

The same Letter of October the 16th, acquaints us with that which follows:

As to particulars, I must tell you, with unspeakable grief, that all the Galleys almost have been severely treated; except the 'Old Reale' appointed for the disabled Slaves, and some others: and that they have cruelly butchered all those who would not put off the Cap; insomuch that in some Galleys six or seven Slaves, or more, of the same Galley, have been stretched on the rack [*i.e. the Gangway*] and struck 50, 100, and 120 times, with a rope in many places done over with pitch and tar, and dipped in the sea: and that they have inflicted twice, thrice, four times, or more, this cruel punishment on them till they had promised to put the Cap off, or that the Tormenters had been forced to send them to the Hospital.

After that, they speak of what we mentioned before concerning Monsieur SERRES; to whom they gave the Bastonade twice; and sent him, last Sunday, very sick to the Hospital. He is still there; and a little better.

They add to it, That Monsieur MAURIN underwent the same torment three, and I think four, times: and he was, last Monday, shut up in one of the Dungeons of the Hospital. That Monsieur CARRIÈRE and Monsieur LOSTALET have been twice most cruelly abused; having received, at one and the same time, six score blows each; so that they have been forced to send them away very sick, raw, and bruised, to the Hospital. Monsieur LOSTALET hath been, all along, constant and steady, as well as Monsieur SERRES, MAURIN, GRANGE, and PELEVIER; and are all now in the Hospital, very sick with the blows they received. They add, That Monsieur LOSTALET was exposed to so great sufferings

that he is not able to stir out of his bed, but by the help of some ropes hanging down from the ceiling, and of some men besides. Monsieur SEIGUIÈRES hath also so undergone the Bastonade; and is extremely ill of it.

The Major declared, to-day, That they would be let alone till they are recovered: and then they should be racked [*flogged*] again and again, till they should either die, or promise to put their Caps off to the Host.

These faithful Confessors begged leave to let them go into the Sinks [*Bilge*], or into the filthiest and darkest places of the Benches: but the Papists are not so kind now, as they were, last winter, to the Confessors on board the 'Old Reale'; for they can never be prevailed upon to grant them anything. Somebody addressed a humble Petition to the Intendant, begging of the favour to discountenance such Outrages, and to let these Confessors remain in the Sinks: but he was deaf to their entreaties. On the contrary, they caused all the Brethren of six or seven Galleys to be stretched, the next day, or the day following, upon the Coursey: who courageously refused to put off their Caps. They have done the like in all the Galleys: but no execution, as yet, in that [the 'Old Reale']; wherein our dear and honoured old Confessors are.

This is a piece of the [Roman Catholic] Missionaries' policy, who keep them, no doubt, for the end of the Tragedy; and that they may be reckoned very indulgent: because they are the sole Masters of that Affair, there being no Captain to command in that Galley; and that no man may look upon them as the Authors of these Barbarities. But they put on, to no purpose, the sheep's skins. They are, for all that, ravenous wolves within! For they are the *only* Cause of these punishments; having written to the Court, and given a thousand false representations of the Sufferings of our Brethren, and of their behaviour. They are likewise the Cause why the Commanders and the Majors have received strict orders; nay, that they have been chidden for having, on some occasions, been too remiss. Notwithstanding, we have it from good hands, that some friends of this Suffering Society having written, and spoken, in their behalf, to some Ministers of the French Court; and desired them to put an end to the Torments inflicted on these innocent men: it was answered them, That they were not

worse dealt with than the other Slaves. 'Either,' say they, 'these Gentlemen do not know the thing; or they tolerate those who abuse us.'

It is well known at Marseilles, that they do not deal so well, by far, with our Brethren as they do with the other Slaves. For profligate wretches, if compared with these faithful Confessors (who make no noise, nor do any injury to anybody), profligate wretches, I say, have leave to have their chains taken off, and to go into the town about their business. But our Brethren are all debarred this indulgence; nay, their relations and friends are kept off from seeing them: and, which is worst of all, they bruise and flay them alive, upon pretence that they will not put off their Caps, when they are saying Mass.

The Papists object, That, when they come to our Churches, they put off their Hats: and consequently we must do the like, when they are performing their Divine Service. But our Brethren answered, That it was quite another thing. For the Papists went willingly, and out of their own accord, to our Churches; but they are sentenced to the Gallies, because they will not adhere to an erroneous Worship; and, being bound in chains there, they cannot come out of them, when the Papists are there at their Religious Exercises. Our Brethren endeavoured to hide themselves in places where they could not be seen: and now, they say, we are prosecuted for refusing to do a thing, *viz.* to put off our Caps; which we cannot do, unless we betray our Consciences: for this would be a tacit consent to their Doctrine and Worship.

The Papists reply, That putting one's Cap off is no great matter; and that they do not intend thereby to have us believe their doctrine. But when they have prevailed upon them to put off their Cap; their design is to oblige them to turn their faces towards the Stern, where they are saying Mass, and lifting up the Host: as they have done with some of them.

By Letters, dated October the 29th, we hear, That the Gallies which were at sea are come back again; and that the faithful Protestants, who are on them, prepare themselves to suffer, with an entire submission, whatever happens. And we are, at the same time, told that those

Confessors who are on board the Galleys that had not been strictly searched, have undergone the horrid trial of repeated Bastonades; except the 'Old Reale,' wherein are the disabled Slaves.

We hear likewise, that the faithful Confessors who bravely suffered the cruel Bastonades, and who are miraculously cured of their deep wounds, are sentenced to die in dark and deep Dungeons; that there may be no witness of their Constancy. Particularly, PIERRE DE SERRES senior, a worthy Confessor, who has been removed into the Island of Hyères: where they have fitted for him, and many others, the last place of their punishment, *viz.* The bottom of a Tower, so deep that one cannot go down it, but by the help of a long ladder; and nothing is to be found there, but a thick soft mire full of toads, and such loathsome insects.

YOU HAVE HERE a True Account of the most barbarous Sufferings that ever any Martyr was exposed unto. When they made Complaints of it to the Ministers [*Ambassadors*] of the French Court in foreign parts; they said, 'It was but a tale!': and when they acquainted, at Paris, the Ministers of State with it; they have, in like manner, said, 'There was no truth in the matter!' This is indeed a riddle to us.

For if these Gentlemen, who seem so incredulous, know the truth in the thing; it is surprising that they should deny a Matter of Fact so notorious; and indeed acted before the sun, and before a multitude of Eye-witnesses. But Charity obliges us to believe that the Ministers of the French Court, and the King himself, are not perfectly informed of the outrages that are committed.

Moreover, we do not wonder at their unbelief; because there are, in this horrible case, many things scarcely to be believed. It is incredible that men, who pretend to be Christians, should commit such barbarous Cruelties! It is likewise incredible that men, compounded of flesh and blood and as weak as other men, should be able to suffer five, or six, times this terrible Punishment, we will not say without dying (for some are already dead of it), in Torments as grievous as those miserable creatures suffer, whose bones are broken on the Scaffold; and [who] are left in that condition on the Wheel till they have breathed out their last.

Some persons have done all they could to let the King be informed of these horrid transactions; which are enough to make the most barbarous Cannibal quake and tremble. And these suffering Confessors have addressed their humble Petitions to the Court; wherein their miseries were faithfully represented. There hath been but One of all these Petitions returned, with this Answer. 'This to be proved': but care was immediately taken to stop all the ways and means of doing it.

1700. Bloody, torn, and bathed with Vinegar and Salt !

We cannot duly represent the horror of their punishment. You have here the description of it, word for word as it was sent us.

They stretch the naked body on the Coursey; and sometimes they compel some of their faithful Brethren, who are appointed to suffer the same Martyrdom, to hold them fast by the feet and hands: that these Confessors (being terrified with the horror of the torment, and the barbarous service they are forced to do) should yield before they be put to the torture. And the strongest Turk on board the Galley strikes, with all his might, the naked body, with a rope done over with pitch and tar, and dipped in the sea. And by the force of these dreadful blows, the body rebounds above half a foot high from the place whereon it is extended; and falls down again. They strike till all the skin and flesh of the back is torn off to the very ribs; which becomes all of a gore blood, and one entire wound: upon which the Surgeon, instead of balsam, pours Salt and Vinegar; after having opened, with a razor, the wounds that are not open enough.

One may easily conceive the pains of a body, all bloody, all torn, and bathed all over with Vinegar and Salt! Barbarity itself never contrived a Torment so inhuman! And if Mankind doth not rise up in indignation against such cruelties; surely the bowels of Humanity and Pity are perished amongst Men!

If the profligate Slaves mutiny and rebel; they are condemned to suffer 20 or 30 blows: but as for our innocent Confessors, they are condemned to 300 or 400 cuts with a cord: given, indeed, at several times, because if they were given without intermission, they would die in the execution. But, as it is, they are left more than half-dead; without skin and without flesh on their backs: and, when they see them almost expiring, they carry them to the Hospital. They take care indeed to heal their wounds; but to what intent? Only to put them into a condition to endure the same punishment again! Ah! cruel mercy! which rescues men from death, to expose them to Torments a thousand times worse than dying. If, after these painful trials, they are shut up in dark Dungeons, it is only to bury them alive: but, however, they look on this sort of Burial as a great favour!

If they can find no help on earth, they will appeal to the Tribunal

of the righteous GOD above ; and wait for that dreadful Day, wherein those who shew no Mercy shall find Judgement without Mercy.

Our blessed Confessors entreat all men in general to have pity on them ! for this is the Cause of Human Nature. But, particularly, they intreat the compassion of their [Protestant] Brethren of what condition, country, and language, soever—Kings, States, Magistrates, People, Pastors, Flocks, Rich, and Mighty—that everyone would, in their several places and stations, apply themselves to find out Ways and Means of mitigating their Sorrows : on account of which the Church cries out, ‘ All ye that pass by, behold, and see if there be any Sorrow like unto my Sorrow ; which is done unto me ! wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.’ [Lam. i. 12.]

Their pretence for their Cruelty is ; because these holy Martyrs refuse to put off their Caps when the Host is lifted up. But if they refuse it from a principle of Conscience ; the Persecutors become murderers, both of body and soul, by pushing men’s Consciences to such extremities.

The Tyrants of old, who were visibly acted [*actuated*] by the Devil, were not so violently enraged against the Servants of GOD. Some of them, for fear of their Torments, presented their Petitions to the Magistrates, begging to be excused from being present at the heathen sacrifices, and alleging several excuses : which were very often received [*allowed*]. But the Church did never approve of them. These weak persons were put into the Number and List of ‘ The Lapsed,’ who were to do public penance ; and were called *Libellatici*.

Nothing else was required of those who were dragged to the altars of false Gods, but to throw a grain of frankincense into the fire : but the true Christians chose rather to suffer death than to do it. And yet the presenting of a Petition to be excused, or the throwing of a grain of incense into the fire, is not more, but perhaps much less, than to put off one’s Cap, in order to reverence and give Religious Worship to that which is not God. This serves to make it appear that the Constancy of our Confessors is neither stubbornness, nor strong Prejudice ; as their Persecutors pretend.

The Cap, a Religious Honour, or a Civil Respect. 1700.

But, granting it to be an invincible Prejudice; is it not an inconceivable madness to be so cruelly bent against a person under such a Prejudice? Ought not a simple Prejudice to be pitied? especially when it does no ill to GOD or Man! Would the Romish Church be more disesteemed, because there would be some prejudiced persons who would not adhere to her Worship? and is she now ever the more valued for having extorted, by a hundred repeated Tortures, some counterfeited homages?

That which is required of these blessed Confessors is either a Religious Honour; or a Civil Respect, such as is done to the statue of a Prince. If it be a Religious Honour; it is to us downright Idolatry. Now, to force men to a Worship that they look upon as idolatrous, is a piece of barbarity practised only by heathen Persecutors.

They must not say, as some Ministers [*Ambassadors*] of the French Court in Switzerland do, That we must pay an honour to the Religion of the Prince: for our Conscience will not bear such management! The heathen Idolators alleged the same reasons to the Christians, who would not throw a grain of incense to the Gods of the Emperors.

If the honour required be a Civil Respect, it is a Fury beyond all aggravation, to extort Civil Respects by such horrible, repeated, and mortal cruelties! No reasonable Master ever hanged his Servant, or broke him upon the Wheel, for the neglect of his Cap!

Postscript.

THIS ACCOUNT WAS lately printed in Holland ; and is confirmed by unquestionable Advice sent us in many Letters from other parts, representing the worse than Pagan Barbarities done to our renowned Brethren in the French Galleys : who, after the most cruel persecution of Fifteen years [1685-1700], remain glorious Confessors of the Reformed Religion, as we see in the mournful instances briefly represented in this Paper ; which is far from being a full Account of their miseries.

For, besides the many others who have suffered the cruel Bastonade, there is no particular mention made of those other excellent and illustrious men who are miserably kept in dark and dismal Dungeons, in all the circumstances of horror and inhumanity. As Monsieur [ISAAC] LEFEVRE in the Castle of Saint Jean ; Monsieur DE LANSONNIÈRE and Monsieur SERRES the younger in the Castle of Saint Nicolas ; Monsieur MAURIN in the Hospital ; Monsieur MOUNIER in the Chateau d'If ; Messieurs CARRIÈRES, two brothers, in different Dungeons of the same Castle ; and Monsieur FABIAN, the Proselyte, in another Dungeon.

I shall name no more ; since these serve to give a most splendid Testimony to the Reformed Religion, like to that which the same Truths received about 1,700 years ago ; when they first appeared in the World. And, perhaps, Infinite Wisdom sees it expedient to give new proof of the value of the holy Gospel in these last days of it, to render the Purity of its Doctrine more dear to such as do but too coolly embrace it ; as well as more conspicuous to such as profanely reject it.

It is therefore hoped that all Lovers of the Reformed Religion will piously disperse these important Papers, far and near, amongst their acquaintances in this and other nations ; to convince the World of the divine Truth and infinite Worth of Protestantcy ; and of the inhuman Cruelty and Antichristian Spirit of Popery.

An Historical Account
of the
Sufferings and Death
of the
faithful Confessor and Martyr,
Monsieur Isaac Le Fevre.

An Advocate of Parliament;
who, after Eighteen Years' Imprisonment,
died a Slave in the French King's Gallies.

Together with
A particular Relation of the condition
of the other miserable Prisoners there.

Extracted
out of his own, and other Confessors', Letters
and authentic Memoirs.

Done into English from the French Edition,
published at Rotterdam in 1703 A.D.

To which is prefixed, A Preface by the Editor.

London.

Printed by T. W., for Thomas Bennet,
at the Half-Moon in Saint Paul's Churchyard,
1704.

Note.

This Text is here somewhat abridged : but no
Matters of Fact have been omitted. E.A.

The Preface of the Editor.

IT IS A fixed and unalterable Maxim with me, 'That that Church, or Body of Christians, who are for promoting their Interest by the Spirit of Persecution, *i.e.*, by laying any Violence on the Consciences of men, are not, and cannot be, a true part of the Church of CHRIST.'

I need not enlarge on this point, since the whole tenor of the Gospel, that is, the whole Christian Dispensation, breathes forth nothing but Love and a Universal Charity, even toward those who are so unhappy as still to persist in the wrong: and would have no other force offered to them, but such as proceeds from the strength of a cogent Argument. The nature of Man is such, as [it is] not to be dragged, but lead by gentle and rational methods, to his Duty: and whenever any Violence is offered to him, he is apt to break out into a Passion; and, by that very means, to be prejudiced against the Truth itself.

To set this matter in a clear light; let us take a Short View of the Method which the Apostles and their immediate followers pursued in converting persons to Christianity.

Saint PETER, in his Discourses to the Jews and Proselytes, makes use only of such Arguments to convince them, as were convictive, and 'pricked them to the heart': and the greatest instance of his severity was, by virtue of his Spiritual Authority, against ANANIAS and SAPPHIRA, who lied against the HOLY GHOST; which cannot be drawn into consequence to justify the practice of any future Ages.

The famous Synod of the Apostles, recorded in Acts xv., was so far from rigour, and imposing upon the Consciences of the new-converted Gentiles, as it only enjoined them such things as Natural Reason would have dictated to them.

Saint PAUL, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, though truly zealous in the Cause of CHRIST and his Religion, though he pronounced his 'Anathema's' and 'Marantha's' very frequently: yet was he so very far from the Spirit of Persecution, that he was for reducing men from the Error of their Ways by the Spirit of Meekness. And when he had passed the most dreadful sentence of Excommunication against the Incestuous Person; with what tenderness does he express himself, upon that Person's repentance.

I need not insist upon the practice of the other Apostles: since it is plain, that the severest of them were not for committing Delinquents in points of Conscience to the Secular Power: but condemned them by their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Censures.

What has been said of the Apostolical Times, may, with a great deal of reason, be applied to their immediate followers; who were so far from being of a Persecuting Spirit, that they endeavoured by the force of Arguments to reconcile men unto GOD, and to the belief of a crucified Saviour: and, in these their endeavours, suffered the greatest of Persecutions themselves, from their most implacable Enemies, the Gentiles.

If this be Matter of Fact, as it certainly will appear to be, to all who will enquire into the Acts of the Apostles, and into the Writings of the Fathers of the first Three Centuries: then what judgement shall we pass on the proceedings of the present Romish Church; who, by contrary methods, endeavour to gain Proselytes to their Communion? Are Inquisitions and Dragoons proper means of making New Converts to the truly Christian, Catholic, and Apostolical, Faith? If not; how justly may we blame the whole conduct of the Papists, in their endeavouring to bring over to their Communion such as in Conscience differ from them, by Violence and unheard-of Barbarities.

There is something so frightful and terrible in the very Genius and Spirit of Popery, that would make an honest man quite out of conceit with it; though he were never so much inclined to hold Communion with it, upon other accounts. It gives a shock to Human Nature, and makes it start within itself, to think that *That*, and *only That*, can be

the True Church: which supports its Interest, not only by Fraud and Cunning; but by open Oppression and Cruelties offered, not only to the Estates and Bodies, but also to the Souls and Consciences, of Men.

To pass by the Former Method of propagating the Roman Catholic Religion; of which their Missionaries (both of the Jesuitical and other Orders) are great Masters: we shall only insist upon the Latter Means, which they not only allow of, but even prescribe to be used, for the regaining of those that are departed from their Communion; that is, to speak in their own words, 'for [the] Extirpating of Heresy and Heretics.'

And here, a modest Heathen would blush for them, to hear, with what confidence and effrontery, they prevaricate with GOD and Man. They tell you indeed, That their Church is all Love and Charity; that it breathes forth nothing but Meekness and Gentleness; and that the rigours it makes use of towards others are the pure effects of its zeal for the good and welfare of their Souls. All this sounds very well; and it were to be wished that their Practice were consonant to their Profession: but, alas! when we come to enquire into it, we shall soon perceive how the one runs quite counter to the other.

From the very first rise of Popery, that is, from the very time that the Pope set up for Universal Bishop, and claimed a Supremacy over all other Churches, it is well known what Methods were used by the Church, and especially by the Court of Rome, to support the Holy Father in his unjust and antichristian Usurpation. Hence it came to pass, that those Bishops who would not submit to his tyrannical upstart Hierarchy, were excommunicated, declared Heretics, delivered over to the Secular Power; and (where the Popish party prevailed) were sometimes deprived of their Sees, sometimes banished, and sometimes put to death. This was the first step made to advance the Papal Chair.

But this was not all; nor did matters stop here. The Popes wanted one jewel more to complete their Triple Crown. They aimed at joining Saint PAUL's Sword to Saint PETER's Keys; and affected the Supremacy in Temporal as well as in Spiritual Affairs. The Christian Princes opposed the Usurpation for some time, and the Pope was forced to drop this point, till, at last, taking the advantage of their mutual contests,

which (no question!) were under-hand kept up by him, he gained his end. For some of those Princes he, by promises, wheedled, and others he, by threatenings, huffed [*hector'd, bullied*], into a compliance with his ambitious ends.

Now the Papal Court was arrived to its greatest acme: and what Violence and Force, what Cruelty and Oppressions, it has exercised from that time hitherto, in order to keep up its spiritual and temporal grandeur, is notorious to all who know anything of Church History. Saint PETER's Keys have not been so useful to support the Papal Throne as Saint PAUL's Sword. So that if any Prince has been so resty [*restive*] as to call in question this new-acquired authority: not only Bulls and Excommunications; but even Fire and Sword, Depositions and Massacres, have been the effects of putting the affront on this Universal Monarch.

Hence it has come to pass that Subjects have been discharged of their allegiance to their lawful Sovereigns; their Kingdoms disposed of to others, Armies and Fleets raised, Invasions encouraged, Plots and Massacres countenanced and blessed, by the Roman Pontiff: especially if this has been against Heretical Princes; or Princes that seemed to favour Heretics. To this Spring, we owe the Doctrine of not keeping faith with Heretics; of the lawfulness of deposing and killing Kings; with the like. To this, we owe the Crusades raised, and Inquisitions set up, against those that opposed the Papal Tyranny, both before, and since, the Reformation begun in LUTHER's time. In short, if we survey Popery from top to bottom, we shall find a black Spirit of Persecution running through all its parts; and that it may well be styled 'the great Whore; which makes itself drunk with the blood of the Saints.'

Need we rake into the History of past Ages to justify the charge? No! We have one nearer home, within our own memory; nay, within our present knowledge, and which proves but too well the truth, or at least the probability, of what is contained in the following Relation of the Sufferings and Death of Monsieur LE FEVRE.

One would have thought that so soft and polite a nation as France pretends to be, would never have acted with so much Fury against its

own members: but the diabolical Spirit of Antichrist has infused its venom into that, as well as into other nations. The Prince [is] actuated with a Popish zeal; and, to shew he deserved the Character, given by the Court of Rome, of 'Most Christian,' was resolved to have but One Religion in his Kingdom. Hence was the Edict of Nantes repealed, and the Protestants oppressed on all hands; their Ministers and principal men banished; and the rest left to be converted by Missionary Dragoons. Under this Oppression, they have long groaned; and the Gallies, Prisons, and Dungeons, have been their last refuge.

Now will you say, That such Persecutions of Men, for the sake of Religion alone, is consonant to the Gospel? Do not such men, and such a Church, as act upon such bloody principles, shew by what Spirit they are led, *viz.*, not by that of the meek-spirited JESUS; but by that of the Devil: who was always a hater of the brethren, and a murderer from the beginning. How does this, their practice fly into their very faces; and upbraid them with the falsehood of their Profession!

But to conclude. A Jew, a Heathen, or a Mahometan, may, with as good a grace pretend to Christianity, as he who professes himself a Christian; and yet acts with such a persecuting temper of mind as is diametrically contrary to the Genius of the Christian Religion.

A word or two with respect to the following Papers; and we have done.

It is unknown who was the Collector of them; and therefore we shall not trouble ourselves with guessing at random about the Author. [He was a Frenchman, pp. 312, 313; living in Holland, p. 351.]

That which is most certain is, That they contain in them an Account of the Sufferings and Death, not only of LE FEVRE; but also of many others who were his Companions, and bore up with patience, constancy, and faith, under all the pressures of their cruel Enemies: some on board the Gallies; and others in the nastiness of some loathsome Dungeon.

To consider the Variety of Torments which they endured, should melt our hearts with compassion. To consider their Steadfastness in

adhering to the Profession of the Christian Faith, should teach us to prepare ourselves against the fiery trial; and to consider the unwearied Malice and Cruelty of their Persecutors, should put us upon praying, 'From such inhuman Principles, and such inhuman Practices, as Popery infuses into, and teaches, its disciples; good Lord deliver us!'

An Account of the Sufferings and Death of that faithful Confessor and Martyr, Monsieur Isaac Le Fevre, of Château-Chinon in the Nivernais, Advocate in Parliament.

IT IS A wonder to me, that our Lord JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles having foretold, in all the sacred Books of the New Testament, that the condition of the Faithful and of the Church should be exposed to Persecutions and the Cross in this life; as they themselves were exposed to it, in the whole course of their Ministry—I say, It is amazing that the Church of Rome has placed the Temporal Prosperity and Glory of those that defend it, among the Marks and Characters of its Truth and Faith; and which the famous Cardinal BELLARMINO makes his Fifteenth and last Characteristic Mark of the True Church. It surprises me that she glories in it; as if she designed to fulfil the Prediction of the HOLY GHOST, concerning the mystical Babylon, who says, ‘I am Queen; and shall see no sorrow!’ [Rev. xviii. 7.]

But it is yet more astonishing that Saint JOHN having foretold, in the Revelations, that the True Church should not only suffer great Persecutions from the Pagans, its professed Enemies: but also from the False or Antichristian Church; of which he, that calls himself the Head, sits in the Temple of GOD, shews himself to be God, and exalts himself above all that is called God.

It is a wonder to me, I say, that she should make it her business to Oppress and Persecute those Christians who have separated themselves from her, and those that will not come into her Communion, with Fire and Sword; and which, for divers Ages (that is to say, since she has acquired that power and authority in the World, which the Spirit of GOD foretold us, that the Beast and her false Prophet would usurp), has exercised all manner of Fury and Cruelties against them: as appears by what has been done, within the last five or six Centuries, against the Waldenses, Albigenses, Bohemians, Lutherans, and the Calvinists, as they are called; and this, in all countries that are unhappily subjected to her jurisdiction. Where the Kings, Princes, and States, have unjustly assisted that Murderess of Saints with their forces: as appeared, in the

foregoing Ages, in Italy, France, England, and Germany; and as has been seen in the last, and in our, Age, in all parts of Europe where that Beast is adored, and exercises its dominion; and as it is, yet particularly to be seen in our France, by this late and extraordinary Persecution that was raised there, some years ago, by that Antichristian Church, her Clergy, and her Prelates: and where, unhappily, the Prince that reigns there, answers but too much to the Designs and Solicitations of that Cruel and Persecuting Society, and which he makes [himself] one of its chief supports. A Persecution that, perhaps, has not been guilty of so many Massacres, nor spilt so much blood, as those that have preceded it: but which has, in its proceedings, larger characters of Inhumanity, Cruelty, and Barbarity, than have been seen, from the beginning of Christianity down to our Times. A Persecution, wherein the Devil and his Agents have displayed more Cunning and Craft, which the HOLY GHOST calls, 'the depths of Satan,' than were ever seen in all the former. This may give us great reason to believe that the Kingdom of SATAN and of the Antichristian Beast is not far from its end; and that, as their time is but short, they employ also their utmost strength to compass their damnable designs, that is, To exterminate the True Church; and, if possible, to destroy the Elect of GOD.

But I do not here pretend to write a History, or to make a Description, of this dreadful and terrible Persecution. There is already enough writ [ten] on that subject; and, doubtless, Time will produce yet more complete Histories of it. I shall only speak of the Sufferings of a blessed Martyr, that finished his course gloriously on the Galleys, in the Prisons and Dungeons, of Marseilles, Sufferings that lasted Seventeen years. I shall only give the Church, and the Faithful, the admirable examples of Faith, Patience, Piety, Charity, and all kinds of Virtues, which that Herald of GOD supplied us with, during that long continuance of Conflicts and Trials which he maintained so gloriously.

There have been illustrious and generous Champions who before, and like him, have signalized their Faith and Courage by a happy Death; which confounded their Persecutors, and edified all good people. But it must be confessed that there was something peculiar in this man: either for the length of his Sufferings; or for the Example of all kinds of Virtues that he made appear in it; or for so many excellent and holy Exhortations which he gave to his brethren, to all the Confessors in the Prisons and on the Galleys, and which made him to be looked upon by the Persecutors, as the Minister of those Galley Slaves and Prisoners of JESUS, whom they called, 'their CALVIN': and who, for that reason, was kept closer, and treated more cruelly; as will appear by the History which I give of it to the public. And, in short, for the many fine Letters, and divers other Writings in Prose and Verse, addressed to his friends

and relations in France and foreign countries, that would make large Volumes, if they could be collected together.

The name of this Martyr is ISAAC LE FEVRE; at present known everywhere: his bonds having rendered him famous in France, and in all Protestant countries. By profession, he was an Advocate or Councillor at Law. Aged about 37 years, when he was condemned; and 54 years of age, when he died in June 1702.

He was born at Château-Chinon in the Nivernais, of honourable parents, and of one of the most considerable Families of that country; whom I have known and conversed with, and of whom I can justly give this Character, That they were the best people among us: and whose eulogy our happy Martyr gives us in one of his Letters, written in the Prisons of Marseilles, which I think it my duty to insert here; and the rather, because I was a witness of the greatest part of what he says of them.

Where, after having spoken of the Sufferings, and the Perseverance, of his dear Sister, who was, at that time, in a Convent at Nevers; and who glorified GOD there, by her courage and patience; and who died afterwards in the faith of JESUS CHRIST, without ever having done anything against her Conscience, Piety, and Fidelity: that being, as it were, natural and hereditary to that holy Family—he speaks thus of them,

What GOD works in her, charms me! That great GOD hath been mindful of his Promise in favour of the children of those that fear him. My predecessors, my father and mother, were of that number. P. LE FEVRE and M. ELIGNARD (having walked before him, in Christian simplicity; and performed their duty) died both, in a good old age, in the Communion of the True Church. GOD took her to himself betimes, whom he had made the instrument of bringing me into the world: but I know her piety was exemplary; and her life edifying, and very remote from the vain amusements of this Age.

You know what was the probity, the zeal, the patience, of my deceased Father. I cannot mention him without tenderness; but his memory is too dear to me to pass it over in silence. You visited him on his Death Bed, or rather on his Bed of Life; and I remember that, in coming away, you gave him this testimony, 'I came to edify and comfort a sick person; but he edifies and comforts me!'

Such you saw him then, and such he was in all the course of his sickness, which was very long and very severe, always resigned, patient, and very willing to give up

his Soul into the hands of his Creator and his GOD. He was naturally hasty and passionate: but the grace of GOD raised him so much above himself, that it made him the most patient man in the World, in the extremest and most violent pains of the Stone and the Colic, which racked his reins and entrails.

He being struck with the dead Palsy on one side; I carried him often from one bed to another, because it gave him ease. All my little services were so pleasing to him, and he commended them so much, that he could not endure me out of his sight. His Palsy degenerated into an Apoplexy. He was four days and nights in an agony, his eyes always cast up to heaven; not with the face of a dying man, but of one in an ecstasy: shewing always when they roused him with caustics out of that lethargic slumber, that his heart and mouth breathed after nothing but his GOD.

I praise GOD, the God of my fathers, for the spirit of meekness wherewith he had endued his Servant, for the patience of a Martyr which he had given him, and for the sincere and internal Piety with which he had inspired him. And, as long as I live, I shall bless the Lord GOD of all Flesh, the Father of Spirits, that granted me the favour to be present at that Change; terrible indeed to the reprobate, but sweet and full of consolation for his children: and because, in that moment when he took the Soul of his Servant to himself, he put these words into my mouth, which I pronounced with an elevated voice, 'Lord JESUS, receive his Spirit into thy hands!'

May the blessed JESUS put them again into my heart and mouth, at the last moment of my life! and say himself to my Soul, 'Come, good and faithful Servant! enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!': and [may he] say to my Soul 'I am thy Saviour!'

I cannot live, much less die, without my GOD! Neither the World, nor the devils, shall ever separate me from him! I will be faithful to him unto death!

I could not forbear publishing this Testimony of our Martyr in favour of such a pious father; and also because it shews singular marks of the son's Piety and Charity.

But I return to his History. This Martyr had been very well educated. He had Learning and Ingenuity. He was sent to Geneva in 1663; where he went through the Course of Philosophy.

Le Fevre, an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris.

A little while after, he went to study the Law at Orleans; where he maintained Theses, and took his Degrees.

Afterwards, he went to Paris, where (having shewed his Testimonials to Monsieur TALON; who was at that time Advocate General) he was admitted as one of the Advocates of the Court of Parliament.

But since I intend only to describe his Martyrdom here, and what immediately preceded it; I shall say nothing of his youth, nor of his behaviour within his paternal family: only that it was always wise and well-regulated.

He lived some time in Paris; from whence he returned into Provence, and was employed in the concerns of the Marchioness of SAINT ANDRÉ MONTBRUN: on which occasion he took a journey into Poitou and Saintonge, to settle her affairs; which he performed as well as could be done.

Being in that country, he was brought into question by the Intendant of Rochefort, concerning his Religion; on false Informations that had been given [to] him. Being cited before him; he appeared there, though he was sick of a hectic [*continual*] Fever; which left him while he was in the Intendant's house. He was dismissed and discharged.

From thence, he came to Paris just at the same time that the Edict of Nantes was revoked, [October 18 1685], which caused him to depart from thence again immediately for Burgundy, to give the Marchioness of SAINT ANDRÉ an Account of her business; and afterwards to dispose himself for a retreat [*an exile*], for the quiet of his Conscience, and to serve GOD at liberty in some foreign country.

This is the Relation that he gave himself of what passed at that Lady's house; and how they treated her, and all those of that place. That Letter, written from a Galley of Marseilles, in 1686, deserves to be entirely inserted here: since it contains the Relation of what happened to him until his going from thence; and the recital of the Persecutions that were carried on in those parts, wherein he had the share which he mentions in his Letter.

I received your Letter most fortunately; in a time when I was more observed, and closer kept than ever. Nobody dares come near, or speak to, me: and they refuse any, that asks to see me, to come into the Galley wherein I am. All the Letters that are sent to me, are detained from me; and sent to the Intendant. Other Galley Slaves have the liberty of being freed from the Great Chain, by giving some money; but that liberty is absolutely denied me. They will neither let me write, nor read.

And notwithstanding all those obstacles; your consolations are come to my hands. I have deceived the vigilance of my Keepers; and read that fair Letter, equally strong and comfortable, with inexpressible delight. I find it full of tenderness and charity; which penetrates my heart with love and acknowledgement. Some passages in it make me enter into the Joys of the Blessed; and to consider the Glory that is laid up for us in the Heavens, as if it were present.

I am touched to the quick, and feel, my most honoured Father! (Permit me to call you so; because I have the honour to be your Disciple and Pupil in JESUS CHRIST), and am very sensible, that GOD, who made use of your Ministry to form the True Faith in my heart, continues to make use of it to this day, for my confirmation and perseverance in that Faith; and to strengthen me in my pious design and holy resolution to die rather a thousand times, than to forsake so great a Salvation.

My Soul, discouraged and tired with the voice of the Stranger, rejoiced with great joy at that of its dear Shepherd. The tears which you draw out of my eyes serve for aliment to that inward Joy; and do but increase my Tranquility. Faithful Minister of JESUS CHRIST! you discharge the Office of a good Pastor well; and your reward will be great in Heaven. I owe you a large Answer, and desire passionately to acquit myself of that duty: and seeing this beginning had good success; I hope all the rest will have the same.

As he was also asked news of Monsieur DE MAROLLES, to whose Chain [*Chain-gang*] he was joined at Chalons; and with whom, it was known, he had been some time in the Hospital of Marseilles: he answers in that same Letter, before he speaks of himself.

There is at present no communication between the illustrious Monsieur DE MAROLLES and me. We were but few days together. He was declared an 'Invalid'; and, as such, put on board of a Hospital Galley. The reason of that change I am a stranger to.

That generous Champion appeared like a burning Lamp in the Metropolis of the Kingdom: and I am but a smoking Match; whom our GOD, who makes choice of the weak things to confound the strong, has looked upon in his great compassions.

Sir, and my most dear Pastor, I am so far from the perfection you impute to me, that I shall endeavour to

entertain you with my fears and troubles, my great weaknesses, my Sufferings, and with the great favours that GOD has done me. I shall make no exact Relation of my little Adventures; but speak only of the dispositions I was in, at that time when GOD plucked up the plants which he had planted in the places of my residence; from what I found myself to have, when I was seized; and, lastly, of our heavenly Father's blessings on my weak beginnings.

The Spirit of Fear and Weakness reigned in the Provinces from whence I came; when I had the honour to see you at Paris. I thought to have found more Constancy and Steadfastness in that great City: but, alas, there was a general consternation in it; and I was obliged to leave it. O, mournful remembrance! It was in the time when GOD was pleased to break down the Fence [*the Edict of Nantes*] wherewith, in his Providence, he had encompassed his Church. You gave me your blessing; and I left you and my dear relations with weeping eyes and a more sorrowful heart. We lamented the calamities of JOSEPH; and I can say, That from that day I had great sorrow and a continual affliction at my heart until the day of my Condemnation to the Gallies.

The Marchioness of SAINT ANDRÉ expected my return, to finish her great affairs; saying, She could trust nobody but me. I was three weeks in a continual hurry; oftener at Nevers, and at Moulins in Bourbonnais, than at Noele.

I was known to be of the Religion; and great cares were taken to inform me of any considerable Persons changing their Religion in any place. I saw nothing but fallings [away] on the right and the left. The most pious sank under the power of the Temptation. Trembling seized me. I said, in my grief, 'If the cedars fall; what will become of the bulrush?'

The Lady of SAINT ANDRÉ, who thought herself sheltered from the Storm, was attacked in her turn. Monsieur DE HARLAY, Councillor of State, and at that time Intendant of Burgundy, writ to her from Parai le Moineau. His Letter was full of civilities; but pressing, and without flattery. He said, Of two things, she must do one: forsake her Religion; or resolve to lose her estate, her liberty, and also to suffer in her own person. This is the doleful choice she was to make.

The Lady desired time; without promising anything by that first Answer.

Monsieur the Intendant gave her fifteen days at farthest to consider of it: and explained himself so distinctly and powerfully on his orders, that Madame DE SAINT ANDRÉ and Monsieur and Madame DE MOMBRUN, seeing themselves brought to extremities, resolved to seek for some Allowances to be made in the Reunion that was proposed to them. That design was put in execution; and an Act of Reunion was drawn up on the model [of those] of the Gentlemen of Grenoble, and those of Lyons. A Letter was joined to that Act; and Monsieur DE MONCHANIN DU MONCEAU was the bearer of all, who came to Dijon before the fifteen days were expired.

But it was in vain. Monsieur the Intendant would not yield to anything. He repeated his former threats; and told the Sieur DE MONCHANIN, that he would send twelve Archers to take me. [(GABRIEL DE) ROQUETTE,] the Bishop of AUTUN seemed also to be very angry with me. They had been informed, That I had taken much pains in Poitou to confirm my brethren; and that I continued yet to go, from time to time, in the Provinces of Nivernais, and of Berry, for the same purpose.

Monsieur DE MONCHANIN endeavoured to excuse me; and told the Intendant, That I was no wicked person; and that if it were a crime to be wedded to one’s Religion, we were all guilty.

And as he was going to enlarge upon our misfortunes, and the hardships that were exercised against us; the said Sieur Intendant interrupted him, saying, ‘What do you complain for? You have not yet resisted unto blood!’

These words, to speak it, ‘en passant,’ have made great impressions on me since. They are Saint PAUL’s words in the 12th of the Hebrews: but, assuredly, it was not with the same spirit, nor to the same end, that the Intendant made use of them here. It is rather with that of JULIAN the Apostate; who thus answered the complaints of the Christians of those Times, whom he persecuted, ‘It belongs to you to suffer! for your Master foretold that it would happen to you.’ It is thus that this famous Apostate, and the celebrated Monsieur DE HARLAY, insult the poor afflicted, in persecuting them themselves. O, it was not the Spirit of GOD that inspired those words into that Intendant, as he

did into Saint PAUL; who spoke them, by the inspiration of GOD, to comfort and strengthen the afflicted Hebrews: and the former, by the orders of a Prince that has undertaken to exterminate the Church of GOD, and to terrify and discourage the persecuted believers.

Monsieur DE MONCHANIN informed us, at his return, That the Intendant would not come in person; but that he had deputed Monsieur the Lieutenant General, with the King's Attorney of Autun, to execute his Orders; and that the Bishop, accompanied with those Gentlemen and the Marshals of Dijon and Autun, and with his ordinary attendance, was coming to La Noele.

A fine equipage, a fine retinue, for a Clergyman! Did the Apostles go to convert nations with satellites of this nature? Monsieur D'AUTUN is a Prelate that attended the rest. But neither he, nor any of his brethren the Prelates that have been at the head of the Archers and Dragoons, to make Roman Apostolical Missions—I say, none of those Prelates consider, That there is a King of Kings above him whom they would please; to whom an Account must be given for those violent and cruel proceedings, so disagreeable to their character; but which they have authorized by their presence or approbation.

In the mean time, to speak something in their praise, those illustrious Prelates are Persons of their Word. They had indeed promised that treatment, in the Letter which they addressed to us, in the beginning of their great Persecutions. *Et erant novissima vestra pejora prioribus.* [See page 131.]

But let us hear our Martyr. Continued he,

That I was particularly threatened; and that he advised me to absent myself.

I told him, that I would follow his advice: and, accordingly, I went from La Noele two hours before that numerous company came there. I was in great perplexities. I loved the Truth above all things: but I had no kind of inclination for Martyrdom; and I saw no other hopes to escape it than by flight.

This I had often designed to do: but the Lady Marchioness had always opposed it very earnestly; so far as to tell me, That if I left her, I should make her despair! I had yielded to her requests; as I did again on that occasion.

One thing surprised and afflicted me, which was, That however fatal soever that conjuncture was; that Lady never neglected the care of her business!

She, seeing me designed to retire, said to me very kindly, fifteen days before my departure, 'Where will you go, Sir? You are not fit for the Gallies! Do you find yourself disposed for Martyrdom? Fifteen days' imprisonment will kill you! See, if you can resolve to do, as we have done!'

I answered, That I had no inclination for Martyrdom; but that GOD gave strength: and that it was impossible for me to do as she had done; because I should think myself damned!

In the mean time, I took horse for Château-Chinon: where my Sister, being persecuted by the Emissaries of the Bishop of NEVERS, by the Curate of the place, and by her own husband, very earnestly desired me to come. She had after sent me an Express, to intreat me not to refuse her my assistance and comforts. Nevertheless, to please Madame de SAINT ANDRÉ, I went to Nevers; where a Judiciary Lease of her lands was renewed.

In the mean time, Monsieur D'AUTUN, a very ingenious Court Prelate, what by his promises and by his threats, prevailed upon that Lady to sign her Reunion [with the Church of Rome]; and her example was followed at La Noeie with tears. The Bishop, having been treated in the Castle by the Marquis DE MOMBRUN, continued his intrigues; being very well satisfied that he had sped so well.

Madame had writ to me at Nevers, That he was very well inclined to me, and vexed that he had not met with me; that he would have done nothing but what I pleased; and that he would hinder anybody from doing me any violence in his diocese. However it be; I saw quite the contrary, a little while after.

The Curate of La Noeie had endeavoured to persuade me to give him a visit in his Episcopal Palace at Autun. Upon the refusal that I made; that Prelate writ thundering Letters against me to Madame DE SAINT ANDRÉ.

Speaking of me, in his last Letter, he said, 'If that man does not give satisfaction in four days; the Sub-Delegates of the Intendants of Dijon and Nevers have orders to take him, wherever they find him, though it were in your house; which will be a trouble to your Ladyship.

1685. Empire of Conscience not under earthly Kings.

I have hitherto hindered it from being done. Both Divine and Human Laws oblige us, to make him do what you have done. You ought to constrain him to it; or forsake him!’

I would willingly know, Where that Prelate will find those Divine Laws in the Scripture? such Laws that authorize Bishops to force Christians, with Dragoons and Archers, to abjure their Religion, and [to] unite themselves to a Communion that they esteem false and antichristian?

Is it in these words, in the Gospel ‘Force them to come in!’? But who will believe that JESUS CHRIST would have said that they must bring the Gentiles (for that is spoken of them) to the Profession of the Christian Religion by Bastinadoes, by Force, by Violence, and by such Cruelties and Barbarities that everybody knows at present to have been exercised by the Guards and the Dragoons; at whose head were my Lords the Bishops, or those who followed their orders?

In truth, it is not to be comprehended what genius, what eyes, people must have, not to see that the Business of Religion was then carried on by the strongest, the most earnest, and the most prevailing, Exhortations; such as were those of the Apostles: who (by that mild, but powerful and efficacious, way) brought so many people and nations to the knowledge of the Gospel, and to the Faith of JESUS CHRIST. And I dare believe, That when the Bishops and the ingenious men of their Communion read this Commandment of JESUS CHRIST, ‘Compel them to come in!’ they form no other Idea of it to themselves than that which I have just now represented, and that the Apostles said of it. And I question whether any of them are bold enough to find Archers and Dragoons there, that plunder, steal, strike, people: and draw them, by force, to the Mass; who believe nothing of it, and abhor it.

No! That cruel and violent Force is founded upon another Master’s command than the Lord JESUS; whom these Gentlemen make no scruple to avow. They say, ‘It is the King’s pleasure!’: though they know, as well as we, that the Empire of Conscience is not under the jurisdiction of the Kings of the Earth, how great soever they be: but entirely under GOD, the King of Kings, and King of Heaven and Earth.

This is a long and particular Account of what happened to our Martyr until his Flight.

HE FOLLOWED THE design of his Flight as he had formed it; to endeavour to escape the threatenings and persecutions that were preparing for him.

But, as he was going to retire into Switzerland, he was seized, on Sunday the 4th of February 1686, in the County [*Province*] of Burgundy, near the town of Pontarlier; with a Swiss, whose name was LA TOUR. He was sent to Besançon; where he was abused, and robbed of all he had. They took his weapons from him, as also a watch of 23 Louis d'Or [*of 20s. each*] value: and the Intendant LA FOND gave his horse to the Archer that took him, for his pains. All his other equipage was dispersed here and there: in which he was distinguished from others; to whom they returned what was taken from them.

They clapped him into irons, as appears by a Letter to one of his friends, of the 12th of April.

After having remained three weeks in Prison, with some that made their Abjuration, and were then set at liberty: he was brought to the Council Chamber, on his trial; though he had then a Fever. The same day, Sentence was pronounced against him.

The day following, he was put into a Dungeon; with fetters on his feet, night and day: where he endured great temptations for two months and some days.

He remarks, That, when he was before the Court, a Councillor, seeing him wear his irons awkwardly, said to him, by way of insult over his weakness, 'When a person is convinced that he is in the True Religion; he must suffer even unto death!'

That truth, says he, made an impression on my heart; and I found myself strengthened by it. I also answered him, That what he said was very true; and that I was in the way to it.

There are CAIAPHAS's of that nature, who often speak Oracles and Truths which they think not of: like that High Priest of the Jews who said, 'You know nothing at all; nor consider that it is expedient that one man should die for the people' [John xi. 49, 50]; speaking of the

death of JESUS CHRIST, which they had resolved on, in their unhappy and perfidious Council.

Being in this sad condition ; he refused a supply of money which one of his relations sent him : because (said he) it was but Justice they should return to him what they had taken from him : and, besides, I am speedily to be fastened to the Chain [*Chain-gang*]. He added, I am in the number of the profligate, and treated as a wicked man : but GOD will have mercy upon me ! He has never forsaken me ! I am in a place where the air is infected, and where I feed upon such diet as would formerly have poisoned me : but I find sweetness and consolations in them beyond my present hopes.

By a Letter from the same place, of the 12th of May, he continues the description of his condition in these words,

There can be nothing more outrageous than their bad usage of me. The more they see me languish, the more they endeavour to aggravate my confinement. For some weeks past, they would suffer nobody to come into it [*the Dungeon*]. If there was any place more infectious in it, I was brought thither. In the mean time, Truth had always the upper hand in my Soul : GOD, who knows the purity of its intentions, supporting it with his grace. He fights against me ; but fights also for me. My weapons are tears and prayers. My faith is weak, and I am a great sinner : but that GOD of Mercy (the Refuge of the Afflicted, the only Asylum of the Miserable ; who does not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed) will have pity on me and my great weaknesses. He will not suffer me to be confounded ; because I hope in him. With the temptation ; he will also give me the means to escape. I will not leave him, until he has blest me !

In this manner, that holy man entertained himself [*corresponded*] with his friends in the beginning of his imprisonment, and the miseries he suffered in a dark Dungeon : where, he says in another place, if the manner wherewith they treated him, afflicted his body ; his Soul was eased by it : that it was [a] physic prepared by a hand that could not fail ; which the bitterer it is, will be the more salutary.

He was solicited to petition Monsieur the Intendant, either for what they had taken from him when he was seized, or to request him

to abate the rigours of his imprisonment. But he thought it not fit; because they would always require him to do, what they would have him [do]: for they still offered him Liberty, as they did at first, if he would abjure.

And upon this, he calls GOD to witness, that nothing but the hopes of a Heavenly Crown retains him in his Religion; which he believes to be the only pure and holy [one], wherein Salvation is to be found: and that he would rather finish his days in Torment, than forsake a Religion that would make him happy in the greatest misfortunes, and patient in tribulations; which made him despise shame; and which put into his heart to pray for his Enemies and his Persecutors. He said, He had compassion on them; and pitied them. They believe they do GOD service; and GOD discovers to me, by the light of his Grace and of his Word, that their zeal is inconsiderate; and that they fight against GOD and his Truth.

At that time, the Superior of the Jesuits of Besançon came, from the Intendant, to tell him, That he would send him away, the Monday following, though he should go alone, to be fastened to the Chain [*Chain-gang*]. A worthy message of a Jesuit! And then he heard that his dear Sister (a pious and prudent woman; and who persevered, like him, in spite of all the Persecutions which she had suffered) was sent into a Convent at Moulins in Bourbonnais: and that increased his affliction; but also his zeal and his fervour. 'Holy Father!' said he on that occasion, 'keep us in thy name!' Here is the Patience and Faith of the Saints.

During his abode in the Prison of Besançon; he writ to one of his friends,

That on the Thursday and Friday last before his Letter, five persons had been condemned for their lifetime to the Gallies, for the Religion: all poor people, remote from their country. One of the five was a Patrician of Montauban; who had left his Wife and the least of his children. He was carried to Prison, with one of his children of fourteen or fifteen years of age; who, because of his youth, was put into the Hospital of Besançon, to be instructed in the Roman Religion. There were also two unmarried men: the one of fifty-six, the other of sixty, years of age. The latter was sick and dying when he was condemned; and was exempted

1686. A good Roman Catholic's appreciation of Le Fevre.

from the Dungeon and Irons, but laid on a little straw : nevertheless, an example of patience and virtue.

Though Monsieur LE FEVRE had been judged [*condemned*] with precipitation ; because they would make examples : nevertheless he was exhorted to make an Address to the King.

Either (said he,) because that, when he was seized, they could not well convict him of a design to forsake the Kingdom ; and, moreover, because they persuaded themselves that the fear of punishment would make him change his Religion : but GOD, he adds, (who surprises the wise in their craftiness ; and who often makes choice of the weak things of this World to confound the strong) did not forsake me ; and made me see nothing but horror in the change that was proposed to me.

Though he was extraordinarily solicited to it, both by his Judges themselves, and by other Roman Catholic persons that his friends were obliged to make use of, to give him some assistance, and to hear from him. Wherein he was well served by Monsieur N. ; who testified much respect for him.

Monsieur LE FEVRE's merits (said he to the friend of the Protestant Religion, that had desired him to go and see him in Prison) and his unhappy engagement [*adherence*] in the Reform Religion, make me share in the vexations of his Prison and Irons : which have, nevertheless, nothing strong enough to exorcise the Demon that possesses him. He is tired with the importunity of my presence ; [and] not willing to hear anybody any more about his conversion : for which I would give my life !

That good man, who seems very zealous for his Religion, must needs be charmed with our Martyr's virtue ; seeing he would have given his life for his conversion. The Roman Catholic zeal goes but seldom so far as this man urges his.

HE WAS CONDUCTED from Besançon, where he had been judged, to Dijon; where he came the 30th of May 1686: but the hardship of the journey, added to the irons that were left on him and those that were brought with him, had bruised him, and made an impression on his flesh.

I am (says he in a Letter, of the 1st of June, from the Prison of the Court of Dijon)—I am, as it were, impotent. I suffer great pains all over my body: and if it had not been for the comfort that the Lord sent me at Aussone, they would not have brought me alive to Dijon. My irons were taken off at Aussonne, and I was set on horseback; whereas, before, I was in a wagon, in a killing posture; and pressed on all sides. But whatever happens to us; we put our trust in GOD! We hope in him only! I have had some Fits of an Ague more violent than usual: but GOD will not forsake me!

In short, the Prisons, and the entertainments that he found in them, at Dijon were more favourable to him, and those that were also condemned with him, than those at Besançon: for which he was thankful, and testified his acknowledgements.

They speak no more here (says he, in a Letter written from the Keeper's Lodge of the Court of Dijon) of Irons and Dungeons. GOD permits us to recover the strength we stand in need of, to bear the Chains that are preparing for us. I am treated with much humanity.

And there likewise, as at Besançon, came divers Letters of Recommendation, in his behalf, from divers Persons of Quality and friends from Paris and [the] Province[s]. They were useful indeed to shew the merit of that Prisoner, for whom so many Persons of the First Quality concerned themselves: but they were also prejudicial to him; for that [*because*] his Judges, looking upon him as a considerable person, took so much the more labour to endeavour to gain him.

And seeing that Promises prevailed nothing; they made use of Rigour: supposing that he would yield, at last, to the extremity of the

Torment. But gaining nothing by the one, nor the other; they resolved to make him an example of severity, to divert others from the like design. Insomuch that his Merit, his Friends, and Acquaintance, were almost as prejudicial to him as the Cause he maintained.

The Letters of Recommendation (said he to one of his friends at Paris, to whom he writ) do me harm! Let us make no more use of them, Sir! and do no longer importune Monsieur the Marquis of ———; to whom I wish a Marshal's Staff of France!

And as his friends sent him sums of money for his assistance, above what he could desire of them, besides the Recommendations which they procured for him; he did not accept of them, because he had no need of them, saying, That Plenty was troublesome to him: or if he accepted them, it was to relieve the poor Prisoners that were condemned as well as he, that were in necessity and misery; but always, with a proviso and with most earnest desires, that his brother-in-law, the Sieur ———, should return the sums he received, to those that supplied him with them.

He was also so nice [*scrupulous*], that he would not discover his own necessities to his friends, that he might not seem importunate: saying, That though he should want anything, he would not tell them; that the Quality of a Galley Slave had not abated his courage; and that, if he had much, he would give much—those that were condemned to the Gallies with him being very poor people, destitute of all human relief; but rich in faith.

Being yet in the Prison of Dijon; they would have obliged him to present a Petition to Monsieur the Intendant, to obtain some favourable usage, when he should be at the Chain. But he thought it not fit, saying, That if he could distinguish himself from others, which he believed could not be done; it would be cowardice to separate himself from them.

We do not fear (said he) all the preparations they threaten us with; and which we cannot avoid, without a miracle. We wait for it. The sight of a passionate Deputy and a Troop of inhuman Guards will be nothing frightful to us. That which troubles me most is the blasphemies and the impatiences of the wicked wretches with whom we shall be coupled.

Furthermore, as his Soul was full of acknowledgement as well as of zeal and charity; he made known to his friends that he was particularly obliged to the Keeper, for the civilities which he had received in his Prison at Dijon: who is (said he) a very honest man, and little fit for the Office he had; the disorder of his affairs having made him to take up that employ.

I should but little feel my Captivity (added he), if the noise of the Chain did not tingle continually in my ears; and if the Reverend Father Jesuit, who came from Vezelai, CORBIGNI L'ORNU, did not visit me so often; or [did] only discourse with me, conformable to the condition wherein I am.

It was, at that time, that the Chain [*Chain-gang*] to which he was to be fastened, passed from Paris to Dijon, under the conduct of the Sieur DE SAINT PREVIL. And hearing that Monsieur DE MAROLLES was in the Prison of the Tournelles, and that very likely he should be put to that Chain, as he was really; he asked news of him; waiting, as to himself, pretty calmly for that doleful event: and, in that expectation, he employed his time to fortify all those that came to visit him; to comfort his absent friends everywhere, by his Letters; and to exhort them to be faithful and to persevere, in the most feeling and edifying terms that could be.

AT LAST, HAVING continued about two months in the Prisons in Dijon, he was conducted with his companions to Chalons on the river Saone : where the Chain arrived, that came from Paris ; to which Monsieur DE MAROLLES was fastened, and who was then sick. As he notes in a Letter that he writ from Chalons, the 3rd of August 1686, wherein he says,

If it were not for the sickness of the illustrious Monsieur DE MAROLLES, which still continues; I would tell you, my dear friend, nothing but matters of rejoicing: but my heart is wounded. I hope, with the assistance of Heaven, that the Fever of that Martyr of the Lord JESUS will abate by rest: because they were to go by water; and that they had a little liberty, their chains being something lighter.

At first, he was coupled with a Dragoon Officer, whose name was BON VALET, a very mild and discreet man, Brigadier of the Marquis D'OUARTIGNI's Company: who was condemned to the Gallies, for having let Monsieur DE VILLE FRANCHE MONTBRUN, the Lady his sister Mademoiselle DE LA JONCHÈRE, and others, escape. That Officer was a Roman Catholic: but was used, as if he had been of the Religion.

As for him, he suffered much the first night; after which, he was bound with Monsieur DE MAROLLES, and lay with him.

We may easily imagine that these Martyrs' journey was painful and uneasy. Here is the Relation he gives of it, from the Hospital of the Galley Slaves at Marseilles, of the 20th of August 1686, as soon as they arrived there.

It seemed to me, as if I had been gone above six months from Dijon. The Lord hath made my flesh and skin grow old. I have found myself in the pains of death. The Guard have thought me dead; and, as such, one took one thing, and another took another thing, from me: and without the little stop we made at Avignon, I could expect nothing but a cruel death. With long intreaties, Monsieur DE SAINT PREVIL suffered me to take a litter; on condition I should pay the Guard. Money was a great assistance to me. I have dispersed it.

But wherefore all those cares and expenses to come to a place that may be called, The Abode of Misery; where I am mixed with a very great number of Galley Slaves? I have been forty-eight hours, without being able to eat or drink what they give here; and without being able to close an eye.

At last, recommending my soul to GOD in that condition, I spied Monsieur J. coming to me; who told me that I was recommended to him by his friend G. After that visit, the Fever left me. My life is not precious to me! I could leave it with delight, if it was GOD's will: but the Lord works miracles to preserve it to me. Farewell, my Dear! Greet the Brethren, and pray for me! They continue to speak of Controversies to me; and of changing my Religion! How long, Lord!

When they were come to Marseilles, which was in the month of August, Monsieur DE MAROLLES and he were put into the Hospital of the Galley Slaves, as sick men. He says, in a Letter written from that Hospital, the 13th of September,

Monsieur DE MAROLLES and myself have been, some days, near each other. Our beds join; and we eat together. Our captivity, and our frequent sicknesses, do not hinder us from diverting ourselves.

It is from that place, that he desires his friend to whom he writ, to give the Wife of that illustrious Companion of his Sufferings a visit from him, and to assure her, that it would be the greatest pleasure in the World to him, to do her husband service; who is, says he, one of the best Christians, and the most enlightened, that I know.

Doubtless it was a great comfort to both of them, to be together in that miserable place; and to be able to assist and strengthen each other mutually. Nevertheless, both of them, were expressly forbid to see the Galley Slaves of the Religion; or to send them anything.

But the continuance of those two holy men in that place was not long: for they had been told that, as soon as they were recovered, they should be separated. Wherein (says he) I shall have great loss of that godly man's conversation. And it is not to be questioned but that they made a kind of Paradise of their retirement in that place; wherein they had divine and celestial conversations.

It is from thence that he writes, concerning the prohibition that was made them, to communicate anything to the other Galley Slaves.

The Exercises of Piety and Charity are no longer permitted. There is no more Sincerity to be used: but I hope always in Divine Providence, that does all things wisely, that it will draw Good out of Evil and Light out of Darkness; when we shall return to the Lord our GOD with all our heart. Our Evils are great; but our sins are yet greater: and GOD must strike us with great strokes to draw our affections from the earth.

These were the reflections that he made then on their particular condition, and on the news that was writ to him of the state of the Reformed in general, and of some particulars of his acquaintance: of whom he says, in finishing his Letter,

The end of your Letter informs me that you have sorrows. The Lord JESUS comfort you; and inspire you by his Spirit what you have to do! May it please that great Saviour to raise up them that are fallen; and to strengthen those that stand, more and more!

While he was in that Hospital of the Galley Slaves, with Monsieur DE MAROLLES, he was very ill.

I fall (said he) from one relapse to another; and have found myself at Death's door. The Physician of the Hospital took great care of me: and he wondered to see me not complain; and that the pains I endured did not make me sigh.

I could not walk (says he) these two days; and find myself very weak: but do not believe, for all that, that our condition is so unhappy as the people of the World think it; nor that we are so much to be pitied. No! doubtless, were it *only* for the Testimony of a good Conscience, we are happy: and nothing, in regard of that, can take our joy from us in our Sufferings and great pains. The Divine Comforter, who puts us all into heart again, comes to our assistance. Sometimes he hides himself; because we are people of little faith: but GOD, who knows our Sincerity, pities our weaknesses. He supports us, and takes us by the hand: and, in that state, Death is no longer a King of Terrors to us. We are assured by him that loved us, that we shall receive mercy, and die the death of the Righteous. What an advantage! What comfort! And what solid happiness is this!

The sorting of the Slaves on the 'Grande Réale.'

In the meanwhile, as he had been told that he should be separated from his dear companion, Monsieur DE MAROLLES, as soon as he should be a little better; they were as good as their word with him: and he was carried from that Hospital into the Galley called, the 'Grande Réale'; where he was but a very few days, but very ill, according to the description he gives himself of his condition, by a Letter of the 17th of September 1686.

He says, They send Monsieur DE MAROLLES and me to the Gallies; without any regard that we are languishing and weak. Monsieur DE MAROLLES began to walk: but I cannot stand. The Physician of the Hospital told us, That it was not his fault; and that he was going to desire Monsieur BEGON, Intendant of the Gallies, to let us tarry some time longer. But it was in vain. Monsieur DE MAROLLES was declared, 'Invalid,' and was put into the 'Saint Jean'; so that he is exempted from rowing: and I expect what it shall please GOD to send me.

I went on board yesterday; where I was immediately loaden with chains. We are pitied. An Officer told me, That if we were here for our crimes; we might expect all manner of kindness. To all this, and to all my sufferings; I oppose the will of GOD! If poverty, sicknesses, pains, and captivity, are the means he will make use of; why should I refuse them? I shall die contentedly, when it shall please GOD to call me.

These are hard extremes: but though GOD should kill me: yet will I hope in him, and praise him all the days of my life!

I am reduced to lie on a board that is but a little above two feet wide. I have nothing to cover me; but the Galley Slaves, my neighbours, have stripped themselves for me: and if the lice and the bugs had not afflicted me, I found myself disposed for a deep and calm sleep; notwithstanding the great noise that is made in the Gallies.

While I was on board the 'Grande Réale,' I was entered among the rest: for, in that Galley, all the Slaves are entered down, from whencesoever they come. She never goes to sea, nor moves out of the harbour. When she has many Slaves on board, they are all sorted from time to time; except those that they have a respect for: and they are brought into a spacious place, where the Intendant, the Commissary General, and the Captains of the Gallies, meet;

and there they make choice of the lustiest and most vigorous of those that are judged best able to row, and the rest are sent back again to the 'Grande Réale' until further orders. Choice being made of those that are in health; they are divided among the Armed Gallies. Each Captain takes his share.

But I was not cheapened [*bargained for*]. My bad looks were useful to me on that occasion. There was but one Captain, or Chief of the Squadron, that put a little jest on me. For, turning towards me, he told his man, That *he* knew not how to choose; and [he] would make his own choice. Then he asked the Sieur BONVALET, Which was the Advocate of us two?, for he wanted one. I answered him, with such a sorrowful and languishing tone, That I was the Advocate, that he turned himself away from me.

Some of his friends, knowing him to be in that miserable condition, obtained that favour for him, to be put on board another Galley, called, the 'Magnifique'; in hopes that he might find more ease there of his troubles, by the credit of some friends with the Captain. And, indeed, he found himself pretty well there, by that Captain's recommendation of him to the Comites [*Boatswains*] and Argousins [*Galley Serjeants, or Boatswain's Mates*].

Insomuch (said he) that he was afraid that he should not stay there long; being ill looked upon by the Fathers of the Mission, and the Almoners: whose eyes he prayed GOD to open, and shew them that, whilst they thought to do him service, they fought against him. It happened even so. For, at two days' end, he was more exactly observed than before; the liberty of seeing his friends being taken from him, as also to confer with them by writing, or to receive any Letter from them, directly addressed to him. He had not so much as the liberty to converse with those that were in the same Galley with him; being always fastened to the chain, and kept shorter than can be expressed.

At that time, he was sent for to [Cardinal LOUIS A. DE NOAILLES,] the Bishop [of MARSEILLES]; but, because of his indisposition, the Conference, which was to be had with him, was deferred to another time; as he observes in a Letter of the 14th of October 1686.

It is known since, that he came, another time, before that Bishop; and that he was strongly tempted and solicited to change his Religion, with assurance of his liberty. But that interview served only to confirm

him in his Faith; and in the design to glorify GOD by his Sufferings, so long as it should please him to continue them: as he happily performed to the end; having always testified an extraordinary aversion to that cowardice, and an invincible resolution to be Faithful to his GOD, how ill soever they should treat him.

But it must not be forgotten, that, before he came out of the Gallies to be put into the Dungeon, he writ an excellent Letter; in answer to his Pastor: which will doubtless be very edifying to the public. He says to that Pastor,

When you are absent from your Flock, your heart watches, and your cares and officious ardour extends to, the least of your lambs. Blessed be GOD, the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the GOD of all mercy, that inspired you with the comfort and exhortations that you sent to me!

I have gone, since, through divers horrible trials to the Flesh; and found that the more I am afflicted, the more salutary your counsels were to me. No! I do not question but that your prayers have drawn the Graces upon me, that I stood in need of, to profit by my temptations. I pray GOD to grant, according to his riches, all the desires of those that have taken the care to convey your Letter safely to me!

My design was, dear Pastor! to give you an exact Relation of what happened to me: but certain reasons hinder me from it. I shall tell you but one word of my condition. I told you formerly, that I was observed and shut up; but had not yet seen anything. I was put on board a Galley; where I was treated, observed, and kept, closer than I had been before. I was loaded with irons and chains. I lay on the boards; and though it was very cold, they hindered me from covering myself. They railed at me; and raised up their cudgels against me. A Fever seized me; and all my body was full of pain.

In that condition; my Soul, raising itself above visible things, sought its GOD, its Sovereign, and its only hope! The comforts that our Lord JESUS CHRIST gave us, increased proportionably to the number of the Evils that we endured for his sake. He encouraged me in all my fears; and said to my Soul, 'I am thy salvation!'

On board one Galley, I had experimented the assistance of Men : on board the other, I experimented the assistance of GOD. What shall I say to you, my dear Pastor ! The turtle is pleased in its moans. That HOLY and divine SPIRIT, which is nothing but Love and Charity, was himself my Comforter. Who else could give me what I could never have expected ; and make me despise the things I feared most ? The faithfulness of my GOD is great ! He is near those that wait on him, to support, maintain, and defend, them in the possession of their salvation. He is the only, the admirable, the mighty, GOD ! He leads us through darkness to his marvellous light ; and, among the dread of the Galleys, he makes us taste ineffable delights ! I might truly say, 'When I am weak ; I am strong !' I passed divers days in that condition : when, at last, I found that I slept well ; and that all that I did eat agreed with me.

I stop here ; and have said enough to make you rejoice, and to oblige you to be more constant in your prayers and supplications. I shall only add, That I am weakness itself. I have fightings without, and fears within. My heart is often troubled. My Soul trembles, and finds itself fainting : and if GOD comforts me always, if he exerts his power in my great infirmities ; it is because he is my refuge, and that divers persons that are pleasing to him pray with me for my preservation in faith, and in his love. I conjure you then, by the charity you have for me, to pray without ceasing ; and not only for me alone, but also for my dear fellow Sufferers !

We have everything to fear ; both from ourselves, and from those whose zeal is not according to GOD. They add Craft to Violence, to make us forsake a Religion, to which we are convinced our salvation is annexed. It is to make us go down quick into Hell.

Lord JESUS !, who has given us grace to retain the Patience which is taught in thy Word, keep us, according to thy divine promises, in the hour of temptation ! Finish what thou has begun ! I will not leave thee, until thou hast blest me ; until thou hast received my Soul ! It is my Faith ! and my Hope !

Here are divers Witnesses, whose state is conformable to mine. They are Confessors that preserve their Hope and Faith inviolably : and that are resolved to suffer all

(yea, death itself, if it please the Lord) for the Word of GOD and the Testimony of JESUS. We endeavour to attain the mark of our high calling. The race is difficult. The way is rough. But we cast our eyes on the Lord JESUS, the Author and Finisher of our Faith. We place all our confidence in him, that raises the dead; and that calls things that are not, as if they were. Offer to our GOD, in the Land of Benediction where he has called you, pleasing sacrifices of humble hearts and penitent souls, to disarm his anger! and, for my part, I will offer him prayers for you from the bottom of my heart, *Holocausta Medullata*, that he may fill you with all kind of joy, and enrich you more and more with the graces of his HOLY SPIRIT; and that, in your days, you may see all your sheep enter again into the sacred Fold! Oh! if that is the object of my wishes; it is also often the subject of my tears and my sighs!

HE CONTINUED ON board the Galleys only till the month of April 1687: so that he was not quite a whole year there [September 1686 to April 1687].

We cannot apprehend the reason of it; unless it was because he was judged, 'Invalid,' as Monsieur DE MAROLLES was: and, as such, both ought to have been sent back into the Hospital of the Galley Slaves, where they had been put immediately upon their arrival at Marseilles. But, whether it was to hinder those two Confessors from having any communication with other Galley Slaves, or with the rest of the people; or whether they were minded to make them feel more sensibly all the hardships and rigours able to crush them, or to bring them to the Change that was proposed to them in vain: they were both put into Dungeons in the two utmost parts of Marseilles; Monsieur DE MAROLLES in Fort Saint Nicolas, Monsieur LE FEVRE in Fort Saint JEAN. Which was done, as he says, by an Order that the Bishop and the Intendant had from the Court. Where they remained until their deaths: Monsieur DE MAROLLES until the 17th of June 1692, when he rendered his Soul into the hands of his GOD; and Monsieur LE FEVRE until the night of the 13th or 14th of the month of June 1702, ten years after his dear companion.

Now, as he was far from any intercourse, and deprived of all the means of having any, being kept close and guarded in his Dungeon; there was no news to be had of him, but very rarely, with great trouble and charge: [a] good part of the money that was designed for him and his companions being employed to pay those that undertook to serve them in it; which they did, not without extraordinary dangers—so far, that some of them have been condemned to be hanged; and, have been executed, without pardon. Which made him say, That it was a prodigy to find a faithful Messenger; and that GOD must raise him extraordinarily to hinder him from seeing the greatness of the danger he exposed himself to. Which was the reason that he kept his Letters sometimes a year; without finding a fit opportunity of sending them.

It was about this time, that he composed a large Discourse on, 'The Necessity of Sufferings'; and the indispensable duty to endure them, when GOD calls us to it: quoting divers passages of the Scripture, and several fine Places of TERTULLIAN, on that subject.

And, on that occasion, he desired his Pastor earnestly to compose a

Tract concerning Martyrdom. He satisfied his request: for which he testified his acknowledgements to him. He copied it, and sent it to the other Prisoners; and, among others, to Monsieur DE MAROLLES, who was then living. From thence, it was sent to Geneva; where it was printed, to distribute copies of it in the Galleys and Prisons: which our Author did not know of, but by a copy that was sent to him afterwards.

But to return to the Prison where that Confessor was confined; and where GOD continued the wonderful assistance of his Grace and Spirit to him in a greater measure than before: as appears in the sequel by the Letters that have been received from him, sent either to his friends in France and in foreign countries; or to the Confessors in the Galleys, with whom he always kept correspondence as much as possible. Wherein it will appear what excellent and admirable lights sprang out of the darkness of his Prison, by the conversations between his Soul and his GOD, while he was deprived of those of the World.

I shall begin with the description of his Prison which he made himself; and by that, of his outward condition during all the time of his hard captivity, which lasted sixteen years.

That Prison is in Fort Saint Jean; the situation whereof (he says) he knows not; the Gate by which he entered into it, being on the harbour. It is a vault of an irregular figure; which was formerly a stable: but being too moist, was found unhealthful for horses. There is yet a rack and a manger in it: and no light can come into it but by the door; the upper part whereof is broken, and grated [*lined with cross-bars*] within and without. Over against the opening are bars, fastened to an iron bar riveted at the top into the wall. That place is very dark and moist. They only give it light by whites. The air of it is infected, and gives an ill scent. Everything moistens and rots in it. All the wells and fountains are above me. I never saw any fire there, but that of a candle.

As he entered into that place; they searched him, and took the only book that he had left, from him.

At first, he lay, two or three nights, in a very moist manger: and, above a month, on a very short and narrow chest; having two seats of straw, one at the feet and the other at the head, higher than the chest, so that he laid high and low, without any other covering than the King's garments. Nevertheless (he says) he slept quietly enough. Sometimes the cold interrupted his sleep: but he shifted as well as he could.

This hard entertainment (adds he) caused me a defluxion [*discharge*] on the teeth, great pains in the reins, rheum, rheumatism, and at last a continual Fever. But GOD made use of those Evils to wean my heart from the World; and to teach me to persevere in a faithful resignation to his will.

Though he was of a weak and delicate constitution; yet GOD raised him five times from extraordinary sicknesses, which he had at divers times and in divers places: as at Geneva, at Paris, at Toulouse, and at Saint Jean d'Angle; so that he had all kinds of Agues, and a cruel Colic [*spasms*] in the stomach. It is impossible but that a body of such a weak constitution should suffer extremely in such an unwholesome place: affected with drowsiness; having almost nothing but skin and bone, with a rheumatism, flying pains chiefly in the neck and shoulders, and perpetual hummings in the ears.

Nobody durst come near him, nor look upon the place of his retreat; much less speak to him.

In some moments (he says) he considered Death as his best friend, and as his great comfort; that the happiness of this Life consisted in the losing of it; and that he ought to desire death, to be happy in some manner.

Be sensible of my misery (said he to a dear relation whom he entertained with [*communicated*] his sorrowful condition); but be yet much more sensible of the glory and the happiness to which this misery tends. Death is nothing. JESUS CHRIST conquered it for me: and, when the time shall come, he will give me sufficient strength to pull off the Mask it bears in great afflictions. *Major est Metus Vitæ quam Mortis*. The fear of living a long time is greater than that of dying soon. In the mean time, it is more honourable to endure the most wretched life, than to desire death.

Can there be a finer thought!

There were some intervals of time (when his pains redoubling; and his strength diminishing), that he spoke as if he were just dying; and thought that he was not far from death.

He said, under that apprehension, That he asked pardon of all those whom he had offended by weakness, inadvertency, or otherwise. And I declare before GOD (says he) that I freely forgive those that have offended me in any manner whatsoever!

No! it is not likely that I can live much longer: unless the Lord move the hearts of those to compassion, that give order for my sustenance: the aliments which they give me being full of divers kinds of nastinesses and impurities in very great number; and unless GOD acts in an extraordinary manner on my body and on the aliments that they give us.

That complaint of the badness of his food is found in divers passages of his Letters: wherein he gives an account of it to his friends, that desired him to inform them of his condition; to the end they might remedy it one way or other, or to comfort him about it. And there is reason to believe, by what he says of it here and there on divers occasions, and by the continuation of that bad usage which was not remedied, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that could be made against it—I say, There is reason to believe that there was a design to hasten the death of that Confessor; whose perseverance, and the wonderful graces that GOD displayed in him, caused a spite, and excited the fury of the Enemies of the Faith: as it happened to his illustrious companion, Monsieur DE MAROLLES, whose end was hastened by the like usage.

He wrote, in the year 1699, that they had cruelly persecuted him, divers years, by the corruption of all the food which they gave him, either to drink, or to eat. But (says he) the Lord supports my weak nature in a miraculous manner.

Besides the badness of his food; he had yet Poverty to oppose; being often without linen or clothes. It is likely (said he) that I should have been without a shirt, if GOD had not given me two by an extraordinary way; but I could never discover to whom I am indebted for them (who, at the same time, caused also a bolster and some other things to be given him). I fell immediately on my knees before my GOD, to thank him for such an unexpected assistance.

At the same time, a proposition was made to him of making a present to the Major of the Citadel to oblige him to take some care of him: but he refused it, by telling those charitable persons that advised him to it, that there was danger in it, both for them and him.

In the mean time, that good Servant of GOD called himself happy. GOD, (said he) comforts and supports me

A Letter from a Confessor on a Galley to Le Fevre.

in a sensible manner. He gives me strength to suffer my Afflictions with joy, and with an invincible Patience and Perseverance: and if I should tell you, That sometimes I am so contented and happy that I forget I had any sorrow, I should tell you the truth. In that condition, at the Hours of Spiritual Exercises, he repeated and sang the beginning of the 35th Psalm, 'Plead thou my cause, etc.,' and the 130th Psalm; which he said were very suitable to his condition: and furthermore, That he felt and knew that GOD had not forgotten him, that he had always been near to support him: and that, in his poverty, he eat, drank, and slept, at his regular hours.

In that time he thought himself near his death, writing to one of his friends, That he must not depend too much on his health, nor his life. One of his fellow Sufferers, [a] Confessor on board the Gallies, writ him an excellent comfortable Letter on that subject; which deserves to have some Extracts of it made public.

Be of good courage, (said he) Sir! and most dear Brother! If the wisdom of GOD has designed your Dungeon for your tomb; he has also prepared his magnificent Kingdom, to receive your Soul there, while your body shall remain in the dust for a time, which can be but very short. In your Death, you will find the beginning of the new Life! The miseries that you suffer in your body serve only to make your Resurrection more glorious and triumphant. Our troubles are thorns that GOD puts into our flesh, to purge and cleanse us as gold in the pot of the Refiners; to draw us from the pleasures of the Earth; and to wean our affections from the World, for fear we should perish with it.

But to accomplish the will of our GOD more perfectly; let us constantly remember, by his example, that we ought to forgive our enemies, with all our heart, all the Evils that they make us suffer; without retaining the least resentment of it. Let us be moved with compassion towards those poor, miserable, and blind, creatures! and let us pray the Eternal Father not to reward them according to their sins! that he will not remember their iniquities, to punish them for them: but, on the contrary, that he may please to drown them in the Ocean of his Grace! that he will save them by his Mercy, and receive them into his Covenant; and fit them for the participation of his most blessed Immortality!

Our Martyr answered those Exhortations admirably well. For writing to one of his kinsmen, to whom it had been said, That he must needs have given some reason for the ill usage that was given him; seeing they exercised no such rigours against any others: he says,

I take GOD and the Angels to witness, That it is only for the cause of Religion that I am thus treated! That is all my crime against men: but not against GOD; who chastises me in his mercy, and thereby makes me comprehend that he is so much the more propitious to us, because he seems severe to us. And that, so far from murmuring against it, he prayed him incessantly not only to exercise his mercy on those that suffer, but on those also that inflict, the punishment. He that commands us to love our enemies, works what he commands, in us himself! The World has looked upon us, a long time, as Tottering Walls: but it does not see the Almighty Hand that supports us.

They do not forget to try always (says he, elsewhere) to weary out my patience: and there is reason to believe that the money that is given for me, is not employed to my relief. It does not come to our hands; and I do not know what is done with it; nor where it goes.

That which is certain is, That when I entered into my Dungeon, the Major told me, That the King would not maintain me; and that I ought to give order for my expenses, and to regulate it.

For that reason, he was permitted to send Bills of Exchange, drawn by him on his Relations, for the payment of his Provision; without suffering him to write anything about his condition, or his health.

I did it (says he); and agreed with a Public House Keeper [*Restaurateur*], for Ten Pence a day, to live a life according to my condition. Which lasted but three months; because the Host that served me with provision, cheated me, and that the Major favoured him: though he seemed not to approve of his conduct, on the complaints that were made to him about it.

He had also promised, That I should be covered with a Mattress and Covering; mine (said he), being rotten, and my Covering all rags: but all this, without effect.

In the mean time, how great soever my anguish was; I esteemed it more expedient to suffer Life, than to desire Death: unless it be desired, as Saint PAUL did, to be with

CHRIST; to possess the fulness of that holiness and charity, that is only to be found in Heaven

GOD (said he) will be glorified by my Sufferings. The longer they are, and the more difficult to be supported; the more Glory the Lord will have by them! Alleging on that subject, the words of an Ancient, *Unde esset magnum perseverare, nisi inter tribulationes et tentationes esset perseverandum.*

I am (says he) always pursued with the same violence. There is no intermission in regard of me. They always deny me all manner of commerce with the Living; and also with the Dead [*i.e., books*]. Certainly, they would use no Villain as they have served me. But the Lord, who is my GOD, my Protector, and my Deliverer, has relieved me. He has had pity on my weakness; and given me a Patience that I never durst have hoped for. Glory be given to him for it, now and evermore!

It is glorious (says he again elsewhere, on the same subject)—It is glorious to suffer for his Cause! It is the most excellent manner, whereby GOD can be glorified by Men; as it is the greatest sign of Glory and Honour that GOD does to Men. I do not refuse the honour he does to me in that regard: but I conjure him, by the bowels of his mercy, to produce in me powerfully, both to will and to do, according to his good pleasure. I acknowledge that Men make me suffer for GOD; and that GOD makes me suffer for my sins. That he permits Men to make me suffer, is doubtless for my sins: but it is, at the same time, also for his Interest, and for Justice! Therefore it is that GOD (always just, and faithful in his promises) takes my part, and the defence of my Cause. If he does not hear me *ad voluntatem*; he will hear me *ad salutatem*! and whether I live, or whether I die, I will live to him! and die to him!

AFTERWARDS, HE WAS two years and some months [1696-1698] closely confined, until the end of the year 1698: insomuch that he had no kind of intercourse with the World, and his friends; he that served him for a Messenger having been imprisoned.

They took away all his Works, his pious books, some Writings, some Sermons, the Abridgement of Monsieur [JEAN] DE LA PLACETTE's 'Morals' ['La Morale Chrétienne']: and he kept only the Translation of our Psalms, printed at Neuchatel.

Some days after he had been in that solitude [? in 1696]; the Missionary, Father GUIRAUD, accompanied with another Clergyman (who, having doubtless already seen him before, had protested that he would not see him until the Day of the Resurrection; yet came nevertheless to see him) came to him. He spoke to him, caressed him, and would enter into controversy with him: but he entangled and embarrassed himself strangely; and brought nothing but confusion away from his visit.

It was in speaking of his privation of conversation with the World, that he said, It was the School of Sufferings; wherein he had learnt to die to the desires of the World, to one's self, and to Self-love. It is in retirement and solitude, that we raise ourselves to GOD; and converse with him in Prayer, which is the refuge of Saints, and the comfort of Martyrs. It is there that a faithful Life finds all that it can, and ought to, desire of its JESUS the Comforter! and that it has so much the more familiarity with its Creator, because it has the less with the Creature.

It was on Christmas Eve of that year [1696], that a Soldier, who had done him some little service, was condemned to be hanged.

But (said he,) in those Extremities of Sufferings, and in those Oppressions of the Flesh; GOD made me feel his assistance, in sight of those that surrounded me. It happened but once or twice to me, to tell them, That they violated all the Laws of Humanity in regard of a man, who

1695-98. He had given nobody any subject of complaint.

had given nobody any subject of complaint; and whose Innocency and Sincerity was known to them. In saying to them, That, as for the rest, I trusted in GOD! and that, when a man suffered for GOD, he wanted no courage! That he did not suffer all this, by his own strength! That he was there, ready to suffer; and that he did not refuse to die!

As this holy man desired nothing so much as his Sanctification, without which he knew that his Courage and Patience would be in vain, he said, in a Letter to Mademoiselle R.,

I enter into the Tenth Year of my Sufferings (This was in 1695); and, by GOD's grace, I have neither lost Spirit; nor Patience; nor Faith; nor Health, at least not totally. Ah! my dear Kinswoman! The Lord has heard your prayers; and those of the MOSES's and of the SAMUEL's that intercede for me. He has spared my weakness! He has pitied my frailty; and he will finish what concerns me!

If I was but disburdened from the weight of my sins, if I could disengage myself from the thoughts of the World; I should be too happy! I should be incomparably more happy, than I was in the World; though, when I left it, I had almost what I could reasonably desire in it. But I confess, with grief and confusion, that I am a man of little faith, and a sinner! I have desired my visible and temporal Liberty with too much ardour and fervency!

This is very near [all] hitherto, that is, to the month of November 1698, what could be collected of his condition, as to the Evils and the Sufferings to which he was exposed all that time. . . .

WE HAVE SAID that he and his companions had much trouble to find opportunities and means to have any correspondence with each other; that it was not done, without great charges and extraordinary dangers, both for themselves and those that assisted them.

But, at last, they were wholly deprived of that comfort for two years and some months [1696-1698], occasioned by some persons that brought him Notes and Letters, and which delivered those he sent to others; and who were severely punished for it: insomuch that nobody could hear anything of his condition all that time; but only that he was living.

But, at the end of those two years, it is not known by whose order, or how, he was put again into the same state as before, for that kind of Liberty of Correspondence; which rejoiced him much, and his friends also, who continued their intercourse by Letters with him as formerly, but also with more precaution than before: that Liberty having also been rendered impracticable with the Confessors on board the Galleys. However so much as there was of it, his friends, and particularly his Pastor, rejoiced with him for it. Who made his acknowledgement, and gave his thanks to GOD for it, by a Letter of the 3rd of March 1699. Wherein, answering to that which they looked upon as a singular favour from GOD, he says,

Nothing is more true than what you say. The more a man is accustomed to Evils; the greater the least favours which he receives, are taken. Moreover, common afflictions have passed with us, a long time, for favours; but that same Liberty that GOD procures, and continues to us, as little as it is, is yet nevertheless a most real grace, and a signal favour: because I stood very much in need of it.

Let us say then (what had been said to him on that subject, in quoting this Verse of VIRGIL)

O, Melibæe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit :

but let us add to it, with the Poet, and in the spirit of pure Christianity which we profess, by the grace of GOD,

*Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus. Illius aram
Sæpe tener nostris ovilibus imbuet Agnus.*

1699. Peace of Ryswick does not benefit the Confessors.

Enlarge thyself, my Soul! (said he). Enlarge thyself in benedictions, to thank the Lord thy GOD!

When he was so strictly shut up, and without communication with any person whatsoever; seeing only him that brought him his victuals, but who was doubtless forbid[den] to tell him of anything that passed in the World, not knowing whether the Treaty of Peace [of Ryswick in 1697] was ended and concluded; he desired, in the first Letter that he writ, [on March 3 1699,] to be informed, If the Peace was made; and (what they were more concerned at than anything else) whether the Church of GOD had any share in it, and any release of its afflictions; as he and his suffering Companions had passionately desired, and in some manner hoped for. But being, all of them, informed of the contrary; they blessed GOD for continuing them still in their Misery: and all of them testifying, in that regard, a perfect submission to his will.

Nevertheless, he makes most bitter complaints and lamentations on that occasion, in his Letters, of the mournful state of his brethren in the Kingdom; with ardent prayers to GOD for their deliverance and perseverance. And speaking of those that flattered themselves with the Toleration and regards that was had for divers; and particularly for those of his acquaintance, whom he believed to be in a kind of indifferency on that account: he said, That those that did not complain were the more to be pitied for it; and that they whose Consciences were never at quiet, were the most happy!

And as to those who, in the heat of Persecution, had abjured their Religion; (he said, in testifying his grief for their unhappy condition) I am persuaded that if the Christians that have been subverted by those Waters and Storms that surround us, and wherewith we are (as it were) overwhelmed, were well persuaded of that Eternal Truth, that 'Blessed are those that suffer for righteousness sake!' and of that other Truth, That we shall be judged by the truth manifested in the Word of GOD, as JESUS CHRIST tells us, in express terms, in Saint John, cap. xii., v. 48; and in such a manner as is capable to make impression on the hardest hearts, 'He that rejects me, and receives not my words, has one that judges him; the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the Last Day'—I say, I am persuaded that if their hearts were filled with those two Truths; undoubtedly they would arise again from their

Fall; and they would neither fear Life, nor Death, nor Gallies, nor Dungeons!

O, let them not deceive themselves! (said he, in writing to one of his dear kinswomen; speaking of those that had signed, and who did part of what was required of them) To despise the Cross, is to despise him that was crucified! There is no medium; when JESUS CHRIST, by his Providence, puts us under the necessity of suffering for him. To fail of it, to excuse one's self, and to compound with Flesh and Blood, is properly to deny JESUS CHRIST. In that respect, he exhorts his relations and friends to forsake all things. He blames them for their addicting themselves to the World; and he confutes all the reasons which they pretended to have, for their tarrying in the Kingdom [of France].

SEVERAL CONSIDERABLE PERSONS having, divers times, testified their desire of procuring for him in particular, and for all his companions, some alleviation in their Captivity and their Sufferings; and also their complete deliverance: and, among the rest, the praiseworthy and charitable Swiss Cantons; who have signalized their zeal on that account, and generously employed their assistance and beneficence to ease them in their Miseries. Particularly, the illustrious Monsieur ESCHER, Burgomaster of Zurich [and President of the Swiss Republic], and his family, having ardently solicited the Ministers of France in their favour; and largely distributed their charities for their relief: they did not forget also to express the sense which they had, of their charity and generosity towards them.

But (says our Martyr) instead of having regard to those just solicitations of those venerable Magistrates, they took occasion thereby to redouble their chains, and to aggravate their captivity. And (says he) the Tempest and Storm is particularly fallen on Monsieur DE L'AUSONIERE, who had the greatest liberty; and, by whose ingenuity, they could entertain their communication: who is since shut up in a Dungeon, deprived of all intercourse; where he continues to glorify GOD, and to edify his brethren and all the Church of GOD, which is well informed of it, by his Faith, his Patience, and his Perseverance.

Having received a Copy of the Letter that Monsieur the Burgomaster ESCHER sent to those dear Confessors on that subject; I think I owe that honour to this sage Magistrate, and that edification to the public, to insert it in the History of our Martyr: who took the care to convey it to our hands. It is as follows.

Gentlemen, and most dear Brethren,

I SHOULD COUNT myself among the most unworthy of men, if, after so many testimonies of friendship, affection, and esteem, wherewith divers of your Letters are filled for me, the least of your friends, and who never deserved anything from you, I should remain altogether insensible.

Letter from the President of the Swiss Republic.

I would have endeavoured, some time ago, to acquaint you with my acknowledgement; and have only delayed the time to acquit myself of that duty, because I was in hopes to be able to give you some good news.

I have laboured for your deliverance. I have employed my friends about it: and, having had occasion to go, the last week, to Soleure, I have repeated my instances to Monsieur the Ambassador AMELOT.

But as they gave me no positive Answer, and always sent me away with the same compliment, To remain satisfied, that things would be done sooner than I thought: and therefore finding myself, to my great regret, frustrated of the hope I had conceived hitherto; I cannot remain silent any longer.

But I return you, Gentlemen, and most dear Brethren, my most humble thanks for the goodness you have had, to think on a person that assuredly shares in your Troubles, Sufferings, and Afflictions; and who, until this time, as I have but even now said, has employed all his endeavours to ease you in the hard Slavery which is so unjustly laid upon you: but who, for all that, does not pretend to have deserved the great eulogies that I have observed in your Letters. I am willing, and find myself obliged (as a Christian and a Brother of the same Communion), to continue to endeavour the procuring of your deliverance: but desire you to moderate your acknowledgements; and to be persuaded that, though I have the honour to be invested with the Chief Post in the Helvetic Body, yet, nevertheless, I acknowledge myself a poor sinner, who ought not to seek for comfort in worldly vanities, but in a lowliness and humility of mind.

Dear Brethren! I have read your Letters. I have read them very carefully over; and they have afforded me much edification. I have observed in them, that GOD raises you up as extraordinary Instruments of advancing his glory.

I have observed in you, a zeal for the House of GOD; an exemplary Piety; and exact imitation of those glorious Martyrs and Confessors of the Primitive Church; an unparalleled Constancy; an inexpressible Patience; Souls ravished with Spiritual Joys; and Eyes enlightened with the bright beams of Divinity, even here on earth: and that all those virtues make you triumph over your Enemies, despise all the Evils that they make you suffer, and bear the reproach of the World with patience, on the prospect alone of glorifying the great name of GOD.

Persevere, Sirs, in that holy resolution! since you see that GOD does such great things for you: and that he has called you to suffer for his holy Name in those wretched places, that are commonly the receptacles of the villains of the World; and who, doubtless, by their wickednesses add a torment to your righteous souls.

Queen of Denmark's efforts for the Confessors.

But be of good heart, my dear Brethren! since you know that GOD has so disposed of things, that all shall work together for good to his children: and that, as all human things have their end, the good GOD has also ordained an end to your labours; wherein he will reward you with the wages of the Righteous.

Gentlemen! I recommend myself and my numerous family to your prayers! knowing that they will surely be heard; as proceeding from the hearts of the True Friends of GOD. I shall always remember your Sufferings in my prayers; though they may be accompanied with many infirmities.

I have sent Forty Pistoles [= £35] to Monsieur M., at Berne; to distribute amongst you, as he has opportunity. Be pleased to accept of that small sum, which comes from me and three of my sons; and be assured that it comes from free hearts, that wish you the continuation of the divine comforts, and a speedy deliverance.

With all opportunities of doing you service; and particularly this is my wish, who am sincerely,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble, and most obedient, Servant,

HEINRICH ESCHER.

The solicitations and requests of other Princes and Great Persons in the World that concerned themselves in this affair, had almost the same effect as those of the praiseworthy Evangelical Cantons: for they were also ineffectual.

Everybody knows the pains that were taken about it by [CHARLOTTE,] the wise and pious Queen of Denmark, the illustrious Prince [FREDERICK] of that name, and their Excellencies Monsieur and Madame DE MAYERCROON, Ambassador from that Court to that of France: who, for a very long time, employed all their cares with the Ministers of State to obtain some favour and justice in that regard: but with as little success as the venerable Cantons.

On the contrary, it has been observed that their Torments and Miseries have been increased: the very charity of those Princes and States towards them having been imputed to these poor Afflicted for a crime; saying, They held private correspondence with foreign countries. And I know from Madame DE MAYERCROON's own mouth; whom I had the honour to see, as she passed through the Provinces; who told me, with grief and compassion, That it was in vain to solicit for these afflicted persons, That it was notified to their Excellencies, that the King thought it strange, that foreign Princes should concern themselves with the affairs of his subjects.

Huguenot Prisoners of War sent to the Galleys.

This was the reason that Monsieur LE FEVRE DE LA MOTHE, the brother of our blessed Martyr—who went purposely to Copenhagen, at the Court of Denmark, to desire that intercession might be made for those poor captives; after having been there a long time and procured Persons of Quality to treat with Monsieur de BONREPOUX, at that time Ambassador of France in that Court, that (if it were possible) to obtain something by his mediation—seeing that all this had no effect; he was obliged to drop the business, and retire to the Post where the Providence of GOD had called him, at Halle in Saxony.

His dear brother, being informed of it in his Dungeon, (having writ divers times, either to him; or to others his friends at Paris, who on their side made use of several Persons of Quality to the same purpose) desired them earnestly not to request anything more of these Grandees in his behalf: because that, instead of meeting with any ease, they perceived, and plainly experienced, that it added to their Miseries.

The Court of France was so little disposed to grant anything that was favourable to them, that, after the Peace, the King of England and their High Mightinesses the States General, and their Ambassadors, had all the trouble in the World to obtain the deliverance of those that ought to be released by the Treaty of the Peace of Ryswick; as having been taken Prisoners of War, by land and sea, in the Service of that King, and of the Lords the States [General]: and this, because they were French Protestants, by virtue whereof, they had been (though unjustly) condemned to the Galleys and Prisons; where they suffered all the cruelties and rigours imaginable. The Ministers of State of the French Crown having declared that none should be expressly demanded, but those that were, for certain, comprehended in the Treaty of Peace: and [the English and the Dutch] were also forced to undergo many tergiversations [*subterfuges, evasions*] and repulses, before they could obtain their ends.

And, after that time, the condition of those Confessors grew worse and worse in many things; and the cruelty of the Persecutors was so far from being diminished and satiated by the continuance of the Evils which they made them suffer, that it took new force and measures to aggravate the Torments and Pains of those that were in the Galleys and in the Prisons.

BESIDES, IT SEEMS to me, that I ought not to pass over in silence, who were the particular Friends, with whom our Martyr had the greatest correspondence and intelligence.

Doubtless, his love and charity extended to all the Confessors. He writ often to them all in general; and in behalf of them all, without exception. He often desired of them all, their friendship, their prayers, and their consolations: and when he heard that any sad accident, or particular affliction, or the increase of their miseries, happened to any one of them, he did not fail of expressing his compassion to them as soon as he could; nor of comforting them, as well as he was able, with a free-hearted love which shewed how sensible he was of their Afflictions.

Monsieur DE MAROLLES was one of those with whom he kept up the greatest familiarity imaginable; and whose friendship he valued the most: and which he maintained till the death of that happy Martyr; which preceded his by several years.

They were fastened to the Chain at Chalons; as has been already said. They were fellow Sufferers in the journey to Marseilles; whither they arrived in a very bad condition. They spent some time together in the Hospital, in one chamber; eating together, and comforting and strengthening each other, with all the joy and affection imaginable. Afterwards, they were put on board one Galley. And, lastly, separated for ever in Prisons far distant from each other: and without having any communication with, or news from, one another; without much difficulty.

It is impossible for me (said he, to his Pastor, who inquired of him about that generous Confessor, who had been his companion in study). It is impossible for me (said he) at present to have any intercourse with that holy man; who has a sister, nephews, and nieces, in the place where you are. I know only that he is well; and that he sings the praises of GOD without ceasing. When they took us out of the Hospital of the Galley Slaves (where we thought they would have suffered us to recover our strength, according to custom; having both been sick to extremity)

The affecting parting of Marolles and Le Fevre. 1686.

, in order to put him on board another Galley; he would embrace me, and take his leave of me.

I said to him, 'We shall not leave each other long! We shall really see one another again! We have not forsaken each other! We are more united than ever: and we shall see each other again in Heaven; and in the great Day of the Lord!

Monsieur DE MAROLLES died a little while after; and the World has seen the History of his Sufferings and of his Martyrdom. [See pp. 183-258.]

THE SIEUR PIERRE MAURU (who died also a Martyr and who triumphed so gloriously in his Life, and by his Death, over all the efforts of Men and Devils) was one of his intimate friends.

I have not Memoirs enough, to give you his particular History out of them; but it is the Interest [*advantage*] of the public, and the Church of GOD chiefly, to be informed of the conflicts and the victories of one of the most illustrious Martyrs in Patience, in Faith, in Humility, in Charity, and in all kinds of virtues that ever were.

That happy Martyr was not of Bar, as was said, but of Loisy in Brie; the grandson of a Butcher, and of a pretty good Family. Going out of the Kingdom; he was stopped in Burgundy. He was joined to our Martyr in the Prison of Besançon; and condemned, very near[ly] the same time, to the Gallies for ever. It was there, that their acquaintance and friendship began; wherein LE FEVRE rejoiced every time he spake of him. It was there, that they comforted and exhorted each other to the Confession of JESUS CHRIST; to Fidelity and Perseverance, in spite of all the Evils that Men could do unto them.

I was (said he) a witness how little he valued the money that was taken from him; and of the joy which he felt, when he was condemned to the Gallies. He ran his race with the same courage and zeal, which he had begun in the Prisons of Besançon.

Before he came to the Gallies, he was coupled, in the way, with PHILIPPE LE BOUCHER; who was also one of the most holy Confessors that has been. And because that poor man could not carry his Chain; which he was forced to do, or suffer for it: MAURU raised the Collar with his hands above his head, and he, (who was stronger) bore it on his head and shoulders; and taking a forked stick off a tree, he supported it in such a manner that his companion was, as it were, wholly discharged of the burden; he carrying, in that manner, all the burden, even in the heat of the dog days.

When he was come to the Gallies; the Slaves of both Religions were witnesses and admirers of his Patience, in

‘No greater Saint on earth than Pierre Mauru !’

the most horrible and continual Sufferings, to which the greatest and most infamous Malefactors were ever exposed.

Our Martyr says, The Patience of that Confessor of JESUS CHRIST, in whom GOD displayed all the greatness of the riches of his grace while he was living, is not to be imagined.

It cannot be comprehended how a man could suffer what he suffered, and what he suffers continually; and yet live. His body was covered all over with ulcers. He was seven or eight times sick, even to death. But his long and dangerous sicknesses did not hinder him from being in all the Summer Expeditions: and he is yet, at this time, actually in the Expedition; covered with blood and sweat. He is a Prodigy in Piety, in Humility, and in Constancy. He is a man perfect in the Faith and Love. I protest unto you, in the sincerity of my heart, that I do not think that there is a greater Saint on earth !

In a word, we have almost no Letters from our Martyr, wherein he does not take notice of the esteem, love, and admiration, he had for that famous PIERRE MAURU: who had been distinguished, among all the Confessors on board the Galleys, by the most cruel and the most rigorous treatments. From the time he went on board of them, until his death, there has almost been no interruption in those extraordinary Sufferings; except, when he was at the point of death, they offered him to recover his strength, on purpose to renew his Torments. And, without doubt, his age (for he was but about thirty years when he was taken and condemned), but chiefly the grace of GOD, gave him extraordinary strength to support the Torments wherewith they exercised his Patience for so long a time.

This is what we shall see in some Extracts of his Letters; and in the recital of his death by a Roman Catholic; who was on board the Galleys, and saw him die.

Here is the Abridgement, or Extract, of a Letter, wherein he gives Monsieur LE FEVRE an Account of his condition, wherewith he was minded to entertain [*inform*] his Relations; and which he [Monsieur LE FEVRE] desired might be sent to his Pastor; and kept the original carefully to himself. There are some places in it, (said he) that may, perhaps, seem weak to you: but there are some so feeling and pathetic, as may elevate our thoughts in the very reading of them.

Letter of Pierre Mauru to Le Fevre.

A Letter from Pierre Mauru to Monsieur Le Fevre.

MONSIEUR, MY MOST dear and honoured Brother, you are so present in my mind, that an hour does not pass without thinking of you : and without raising my heart to GOD to desire the necessary graces of him, for you as well as for myself, to finish your course in his fear and in his love; that he might give you and our dear brethren that are captives for his Cause, the grace to be faithful to him, even unto death; to the end that, according to his holy promise, we may be worthy to receive the Crown of Life at his liberal hand.

It seems to me that, for some time past, they do not observe me so much ; and give me a little more liberty. It may be to endeavour to surprise me more easily, as they have done at other times ; but, by the grace of GOD, these surprises have been in vain !

When they have taken any Letters from me, they served only to make the sincerity of my heart, and the truth of the Profession which we make before GOD and Man, to appear more bright.

And when they have taken any Letters of those that were directed to me, they have seen that my relations and friends are of the same sense and mind. Our Captain having had them, he came to examine me, Who they were, that had writ[ten] to me? Among others, one of my cousins, who is a man full of the love of GOD and of zeal for his glory, exhorted me to persevere! and, being full of a holy jealousy, gave me to understand that he envied my happiness; seeing the favours that GOD did me. Upon which, that Captain bade me answer his Letter; and write to him, That he might come; and he should be put into the like condition !

After enlarging himself in his praises towards Monsieur LE FEVRE, which I omit here, he says :

Monsieur, and my most dear Brother, I have profited by your excellent instructions. I constantly remember what past when you fought so valiantly in repulsing your adversaries with Spiritual Arms, wherewith GOD has furnished you by his Divine Grace. The desire of my soul is

How many blows I have received with hoopsticks ?

never better accomplished, than when I see the victory of Truth, and the confusion of Superstition and Falsehood.

You desire that I should give them the particulars of what they have done to me: but, my most dear Brother, I cannot do it! It would take up too much time! However, all this is nothing, in comparison to the treasures that are reserved in Heaven for those that shall be found worthy of Eternal Life.

You desire me to tell you, how many blows I have received with cudgels and hoopsticks: which is an impossible thing. It was sometimes above forty, and sometimes for eight or ten days successively; and the least was above twenty, blows. But what will you have me to say? Those blows are indeed a little painful; but the joy I feel in suffering for JESUS CHRIST alleviates all the pain: and when, after having suffered for JESUS CHRIST, the consolations of CHRIST abound in us by the HOLY GHOST who comforts us, that sacred balm heals all our sores, and gives also a perfect health to our Souls. It makes us despise all other things. In a word, as long as we belong to GOD; nothing can take us out of his hand!

But, my most dear Brother, that which you say in your Letter of the good that has been wrought in me, proceeds merely from the grace of GOD: who, by his mercy, made us sensible of his assisting hand in those times; and not only afforded it to me, but also to all those that ask it of him, with a good heart to employ it in his service. . . .

But, my most dear Brother, if you had seen the whole course of my life, and had also as exactly observed the unfruitful Works of Darkness in it; it would perhaps have hindered you from considering what you extol in me: for the horror which you would have had of so many sins and vices that have reigned in me. When I reflect upon them, and represent to myself those frightful Mountains of Iniquity, I am filled with confusion.

In short, finding myself in that condition, and on the other hand feeling my heart pierced with grief to see the justice of GOD inflamed against his people, and seeing daily new subjects of cruelty; I cast myself, trembling, before my GOD to confess my sins to him, and to ask pardon with tears: protesting unto him, by the assistance of his grace, to consecrate the remainder of my life to his

‘I am sensible that, of myself, I can do nothing.’

service, to glorify him and suffer for his Truth; rather than fall into those extremities, into which the World, the Flesh, and the Evil Spirit, had brought so many by seduction, by fear, by vanity, and by infirmity.

This Father of Mercy, by his infinite goodness, heard my prayer; and made my Soul to feel the consolations of his Spirit: and he has not only comforted and rejoiced my Soul, but also assisted me, in my greatest weaknesses; and assures me still, that he will support me to the last breath of my life.

I am loath to give you the particulars of what you ask me: because there seems to be something to be considered in it, as coming from myself; to turn it to my advantage: and as if I had a mind to praise myself, or [to] seek to be praised by others. But Sir, and my most honoured Friend, I am sensible that, of myself, I can do nothing; therefore if there be any glory or praise due, it belongs wholly to GOD, who is the Author of it: for as to me, I am weakness itself and mere vanity; but GOD shewed forth his power in my great weaknesses.

You are not ignorant, and have known from the first time that we were in the Dungeons, what distrust I had of myself, and the fear of fainting in my struggling with the Flesh; which is an Enemy to the Cross. I feared, on the other hand, that if I should have returned into the World, which is a Second Enemy of our Salvation, I should have suffered myself to be carried away with it.

But, at last, I felt the Spirit of JESUS CHRIST: who, by his grace, had made himself master of my desires and affections: which made me say unto you, with sincerity of heart, That I would rather be your companion to bear the reproach of JESUS CHRIST, than to run the hazard of entering into the World, if the choice had been left to me; for fear of being involved again in the affairs of this present Life.

I shall begin then to give you some satisfaction, in informing you of the things you desire of me; and which are known to all those that are here.

When I was put on board; our Captain, who is a man that enquires very exactly into all things, would know, Wherefore I was sent to the Gallies? As soon as he knew it, he sent for the Almoner; and made me to be searched all over, to take what Books and other Papers I had from me.

A Sub-Officer that will out do the Missionaries.

Afterwards, he often sent for Priests, to endeavour to make me alter my Religion: forbidding any others to speak with me.

He took an occasion, by virtue of a Letter of one of my relations, which he caused to be given me again, to make me change my seat.

And, at last, they fixed me to the form [*bench*] near the Pump: and a Spy was set over me; and one to endeavour to insult me, and put me upon needless labour, on purpose to vex me. Nevertheless, (as he rather tired himself with affronting me; and not seeing me complain) he left me; and allowed me also, sometimes after, conveniences to write with.

When they knew that he did nothing more to me, they made me shift my seat to have others abuse me; but I soon became their friend: which made them change my place often.

Having, at last, performed their Mission; and seeing that they could not have their design upon me, they sought for other means.

A Sub-Officer, who was ingenious in malice, desired that he might manage me; and that he knew he could do more than all the Missionaries. They gave him all the power over me; except that of putting me to death.

Every day, he sought new Torments. Sometimes he would make me supply all the forms [*benches*] of the Galley with water. Sometimes he said, They had given me a Letter, though he knew very well the contrary; or that somebody had spoken to me; and all was to find an occasion to beat me: though he had searched me, and taken what money and useful things I had, from me.

He made me go, with a great chain about me, to tap water barrels: and, for one that fell down and broke, he made him that he had sent along with me, to beat me so, that those that saw it, threatened to bring him before the Major, to have him put to the Chain; so that he would come no more.

Afterwards, he made me to cleanse all the Quarters of the Galley all alone, as well that of the Pump as others; and now and then he shewed the Under Commissary, or Quarter Master, some stains, to make me be beaten with a cudgel: and they did their endeavour to make the Galley Slaves abuse me, to tire my patience.

More weary of Tormenting, than Mauru of Suffering.

After which, seeing the Constancy that GOD gave me, by his grace; they took all the Galley Slaves away that were on the seat with me, and having chosen the most wicked Turks and Moors they could find, they placed them about me to abuse me. But, on the contrary, as barbarous as they are, they were more civil to me than the others.

Another while, they made me scour iron Ballisters [*Machines for throwing missiles*]; and finding places on them where it could not be done, they took occasion to beat me.

In short, for some time, they thought to do me a diskindness, by taking my bread away in the morning, and making me fast until one or two a clock: and they cut it into small pieces, that I might not sell it.

Sometimes to fatigue me, they coupled me to carry cordage; or [to] do something with others, that promised them to kill me. But GOD had supplied me with strength to support all with vigour, with patience, and also with joy: finding myself happy to suffer all these things for the love of my Saviour. Those that threatened to kill me with working, desired me (before the day was ended) to go more softly: whereas, in the morning, they boasted to make me sink under my labour; thinking me much unequal to them in that regard.

In short, Sir, at last, a favourable day presented itself, as we were making a tent; that having broke two needles, and not having wherewith to buy others, the Under Officer or Boatswain beat me very severely. The Captain came upon deck, and being minded to know what it was for; I desired the favour of him to speak a word in private to him.

He heard me, and put a stop to the rigour: making as if he was ignorant of what had passed before; and seeming to be astonished, though he was very well informed of all. He ordered, That I should be no more treated in that manner; and also to return me some money that was taken from me. But I am certain that he gratified [*rewarded*] him very well, that had bragged to make me obey his will; and to oblige me to change my Religion: because I believe he was more weary of tormenting me, than I was in enduring it.

If my body suffered all day long; my heart rejoiced, and was glad in my Saviour, day and night. In that time,

Mauru and Le Boucher in Hospital.

my Soul fed chiefly on that Hidden Manna; and my GOD made me possess a joy that the World knows nothing of: and that, with the holy Apostles, I rejoiced daily to have been worthy to suffer for the sake of my Saviour; who made my heart feel such consolations as transported me with tears of joy [almost] besides myself.

The rest which they gave to my body did not continue long. For, a little while after, oars were brought on board the Galleys, to exercise new comers: and those people (being always animated against our holy Religion) took occasion to beat me, at their pleasure; always representing to me, that I might avoid those Torments [by changing]. But when they made those Proposals; my Saviour represented to my Soul the Torments which he suffered to redeem it; and that I must suffer with him.

At last, after all this, we must put to sea; where the rigour of the work, and the blows, brought me divers times to Death's door. As soon as the Almoner perceived me well cast down with faintness, he came to tempt me: but my Soul rowed towards Heaven; and he was never pleased with what I answered him.

At the end of that painful Voyage, I fell into a great sickness; wherein I continued for the space of a month, without taking anything but such broths as you know.

I had been sick eleven days; when they carried me to the Hospital. For three weeks, they expected my death daily. And that which is to be admired [*wondered*] at is, that [though] I could not stir, I felt no more pain; and such broth as it was that they gave me, I never took anything that seemed so good.

I said daily, 'This is the day of my deliverance! I shall suffer no more pain! I am ready to enter into my Everlasting Rest!'

As weak as my heart was; it made its efforts to keep itself towards Heaven. I had no motion, but the starting of the Inward Man. But GOD did not think fit to withdraw me yet: but would raise me out of that sickness.

And when I began to recover my health, our dear friend, PHILIPPE LE BOUCHER, came also sick into the Hospital. I was acquainted with it. He was very sick; and I had no strength to go. Rising up to draw near each other; we should have fallen down, if they had not assisted

‘Painting of Calvin’s back with cudgels.’

us. We were full of joy to see each other: but I cannot tell you our conversation during the fifteen days we were together.

I left him sick there. And that day they carried me on board the Galley, the Fever took me again. I was sick on board the Galley, from some days before Christmas till Easter.

They used me as bad as they could; thinking to make me die: but GOD would preserve my life to render the False Prophets, Liars; who said, That the Missionaries had foretold that I could not live a year, after their malediction. And many persons employed themselves to make them speak truth: but GOD made them all liars!

There were some, in all the Voyages, who to make themselves sport, made me to be beaten continually: but chiefly our Captain’s Steward, who called it, ‘Painting of CALVIN’S back with cudgels’; and then asked scoffingly, ‘Whether CALVIN gave strength to work, after having been laden with so many blows?’

And when he had a mind to begin again, he asked, ‘If they would not give CALVIN his commons [*food, diet, fare*]?’: and it was his delight to see me daily cast down with blows and fatigues. The wheedling Officers, that would please him, made use of those means, as if they tickled him to make him laugh.

When they saw me lift my eyes to Heaven; he said, ‘GOD does not hear the Calvinists! They must suffer their due, until they either die, or change!’

In short, my most dear Brother, (so long as we were at sea, or that we were obliged to row), no day passed, wherein I was not put in a condition ready to die. In the mean time, those that were with me, as miserable as they were, did their endeavour to assist me, and to make me take some nourishment. But in all those Excesses of Pain that the Flesh felt, my GOD did not leave me comfortless

As for what remains (added he), They will have an end in a little time; and the joy of being with GOD will soon make me forget all those Evils. And, indeed, when I was at some ease to meditate on the Words of Eternal Life, my heart was at its delight: and when I looked on my bruised flesh, I said, ‘These are the marks that Saint PAUL rejoiced to bear in his body.’

God made use of you, to serve us for a Pastor.

I fell always sick, after every voyage: and, when I was no longer in the trouble of labouring [at the oar] and in the fear of blows, I had time to meditate at leisure, and to give GOD thanks for having supported me by his goodness, and strengthened me by his Spirit, in all my recoverings from sickness.

They troubled me much in the Hospital, for having visited one of my friends there. They put me once to the Chain: and I was often threatened with it. I thought all my voyages were at an end; but, some time ago, GOD returned me my health: minding to make those that endeavoured to destroy it, to know that he rescues, as it were, from death; and also to dispose me yet to glorify him in Sufferings.

In fine, Sir, and my well-beloved Brother in JESUS CHRIST, I am ready to suffer, when it shall please my GOD; being assured, by faith in his promises, that he will make me more than Conqueror.

As for the remainder, I shall tell you, That if I have suffered any inconvenience; GOD did me the favour to satisfy me for it. My friends could not find the means to assist me; not having the liberty to come near me: and some money that they had sent me having been lost; by the grace of my GOD, I have been very well contented with bread, when I had nothing else. In the mean time, there have always been some ways found to assist me with something. My friends have had yet great care of me; and, above all, JESUS CHRIST has made me feel the effect of his precious promises.

I am obliged to conclude. I have a companion here that embraces you with a sincere affection. We recommend ourselves to your holy prayers; and we pray to GOD, with all our Souls, for you, as for ourselves!

GOD is a faithful witness of the affection I have for you in my heart; as it is also most just: seeing that you have instructed and comforted me. God made use of you, as of one of his faithful Ministers, to serve us for a Pastor, during the time of our imprisonment; and all that you had of your own, for our consolation, was common to us. I recommend you to the mercy of GOD; and pray that good Father, with all my heart, to be your deliverer! to make you enjoy his favour here, and in Heaven his glory!

My dear Brother! pray for me! I am altogether as much yours as my own.

P. MAURU.

These two Martyrs had always some correspondence together, though with much trouble, until the death of the blessed P. MAURU: who was always tormented, almost after the same manner as he represents it in his Letter, to the end of his life. And when they ceased, or interrupted, their rigorous and unheard of Torments, that were exercised against him,

It is (as he observes himself in another Letter to his dear friend) because they cannot make me suffer much more, or strike me in the condition I am in, without killing me: and they would be troubled about that. All that they can do is, to hinder me from conversing with my friends, from reading and writing; which is very vexatious to me: but they cannot hinder my prayers from ascending to my GOD; and from being heard, in the name of JESUS CHRIST my Saviour, by whom I call upon him.

He wrote likewise two other Letters to Monsieur LE FEVRE, that shewed in an admirable manner his piety towards GOD, the fervent desires of his sanctification, and his perfect submission to his will; his extraordinary charity towards the Church of GOD, and [to] those of its members that are yet exposed to Persecutions; those whom Providence had withdrawn into foreign countries; and particularly towards his dear brethren and fellow Sufferers, encouraging himself with them, by fervent prayers, to finish with joy and honour, the painful but happy course they ran; and wherein they fight for the Faith.

But, at last, after about ten years Sufferings and extreme Miseries; (his health being absolutely impaired, and his poor body being overburdened with diseases and blows) he fell into an extraordinary weakness, with a defluxion [*running discharge*] and a continual cough that hardly suffered him to breathe or speak, and giving in that condition a thousand and a thousand testimonies of Faith, Hope, and Charity (which made his Persecutors and Tormentors to burst with envy; but particularly the Missionaries, who grew desperate when they saw their solicitations ineffectual, and themselves confounded by the courage and patience of that Martyr; like the Jews formerly by the Discourse of Saint STEPHEN, the first Martyr of JESUS CHRIST, but which edified and ravished the rest, yea, the Roman Catholics themselves); he yielded up his Soul to GOD, in such a manner, as we are going to shew in the Narration that was made of it by unsuspected

persons [*above suspicion*]; and which Monsieur LE FEVRE took care to send to us, to inform us of the deliverance of that faithful Servant of GOD, and of the honour and glory wherewith he finished his Martyrdom.

It may be, (said Monsieur D. S. LE P., in sending a Letter of MAURU to Monsieur LE FEVRE)—It may be the last time you may have any of his Letters. His voice and strength are very low. But if the sad dispositions of his dejected Body ought to afflict us, those of his Soul ought to fill us with joy and consolation. His Resignation to the will of GOD, his Humility, his Patience in the midst of his Evils, are so great, that it is hard to find such rare examples of piety.

He was in that languishing condition from the end of the year 1695 to the beginning of April 1696: but was perpetually and narrowly observed by villains, who took it upon them; and, above all, extraordinarily tormented by a Missionary, who was let loose to seduce that chosen Servant of GOD, if it were possible.

Soon after that, he died.

Here follows the testimony that one, G.C.R., a Galley Slave, gives of him; whose name is unknown, as also the crime for which he was in the Gallies.

As to Monsieur MAURU, (says he, writing from his Galley to Monsieur D. S. L., who was on board another) you must know, that he died last night. I did not believe him [to be] so near his death; for, when I was with him yesterday from you, he spoke with the same earnestness as he formerly used to do. I told him of the desire your Brother and you had to hear from him; that is, to receive a Letter from his hand.

He assured me, 'That it was impossible for him to write four lines together; that he desired me to make his excuse to both of you; to give you thanks for all your favours towards him; and to tell you, that he waited with resignation the Lord's hour.' (I make use of his own words).

I took the opportunity of dinner-time to speak with him. All the servants being at table; I stayed a full half-hour with him.

(He says, by another Letter of the same G.C.R., from the Hospital, the Saturday morning.)

You cannot question, but that I have taken all the share I ought, in the death of your Friend, and that I have been touched with it: but chiefly when they carried him from hence to his grave.

Monsieur V. having caused a coffin to be made for him, and having laid him in it; the roguish CATALAN, being at the door, went with all speed to the rascal GUERARD, and bid him go and tell Monsieur MIROUR (It is the Almoner that was in the Chamber), that those kind of people ought to be thrown on a lay-stall [*rubbish heap, dunghill*]; and not put in a coffin.

The Almoner came down immediately, being glad of the occasion, and caused the coffin to be unnailed again, and took the body out of it, to be carried away like a Turk. That action seemed cruel to a great many people: and I would have made a noise about it, if it would not have done me mischief.

I could have wished, for your sake, and his own, to have been able to have eased him more than I have done; but the place would not permit it: though I assure you, I have gone, divers times, beyond [*regardless of*] all considerations. I have had two furious attacks before him, by the little Father [of the Mission]; who would not have me see him. That poor man was always afraid that some harm would come to me, for his sake: but I laughed at it.

*An Extract of a Letter of Monsieur D. S. to Monsieur
Le Fevre, on the same subject.*

WE ARE ALSO more particularly informed, by a Brother that was with him, that he had made an end answerable to his life. He preserved his senses as sound to the last gasp, as when he enjoyed a perfect health. His Faith and Constancy were brighter than ever.

As his Body grew weak, his Soul raised itself with more vigour and zeal towards Heaven, or rather towards its GOD; as being more disengaged from matter. The Seducers, that stood round his bed, (and who, like so many ravening wolves, devoured already his Soul, in hopes to make it fall into Apostacy) were lively repulsed: and found, to their confusion, that if his Body grew weak, his Soul had, on the contrary, acquired new strength. So that, seeing themselves

He endured all that the fury of Men could invent. 1686-96.

cast on the ground and conquered, they were constrained to forsake him; and to leave that holy Soul in the hands of that Sovereign Pastor, who conducted it into the Everlasting Pastures.

He endured all that the fury of Men could invent, to shake his constancy: but all their efforts were vain, and produced quite a contrary effect; seeing they were so many means to wean him from the Earth, and purified him as gold in the furnace; having only served to make his Virtue shine more bright.

As his Virtue, his Mildness, and his Charity, distinguished him from the rest of the Faithful in his life time; they would also distinguish him, after his death, by an unworthy treatment. That poor corpse having been put and nailed in a coffin, which we had caused to be made to bury him in: two miserable Galley Slaves, CATALAN and GUERARD, both of them formerly Priests, brought hither for a rape, and murder, having advertised the Father of the Mission, whose name is MIROUR; they took him out of the coffin, and cast him on the ground, to be carried to the lay-stall [*rubbish-heap, dunghill.*]

This was the end of that Man of GOD; whom our Martyr said, was the greatest Saint on earth; whom he had made one of his most intimate friends; and whose virtue was the continual object of his admiration.

I SAY NOTHING of some other famous Martyrs that have finished their course in the Prisons and on board the Gallies; because we have no sufficient Memoirs on that subject.

Neither will I say anything of those illustrious Confessors who (having signalized their Courage, their Piety, their Charity towards GOD and towards their afflicted brethren; by their example, by their counsel, by their exhortations, and by all the most assiduous and the most important assistance that could be given them in their condition) exposed themselves, on that account, to a great many perils. Who, I say, for all that, and for their steadfastness to maintain the Faith and refusing to do that which they would have forced them to, contrary to their Consciences, some of them, after having almost been beaten to death, have been cast into horrible Dungeons: and who glorified GOD, and edified their brethren and all true Christians dispersed here and there; who are very well informed of the greatness of their Evils, and of their inviolable Perseverance. We have indeed divers faithful Memoirs of what they have suffered, and what they yet suffer, with courage and patience: of whom we shall only say something 'en passant,' until there is occasion to speak more amply of them.

I shall neither speak of those that are yet on board the Gallies: though I had a great many things to say of the wisdom of their conduct, and of the Piety and the Charity wherewith they signalize themselves in the midst of their labours and their Sufferings.

Our Martyr's Letters are full of testimonies of their Fidelity and holy life; as also of acknowledgements for the charitable assistances that he had received from them on all occasions, of love, affection, and zeal for their persons; for their consolation, and their increase in all kind of graces and benedictions of GOD.

Certainly, these good Servants of GOD labour in the work of Faith in such a manner as will make their persons and names venerable in the present Age, and in the Ages to come, in the Church of GOD, and to all the Christians that compose the True Church. They may all be assured that, while they combat so courageously for the Faith, GOD is also fervently invoked everywhere for their Victory and their Perseverance; which is the Victory of the Saints, to whom GOD has promised glorious and eternal rewards.

Father Laurent ready to cuff Monsieur D. L.

In the mean time, such strange things happened, such great Cruelties and Rigours were practised against all those poor Confessors in general, and particularly against some of them (either because of their Constancy, or because of the charitable care which they took of each other, and of their mutual assistance in their necessities and misfortunes); of which I cannot forbear to give the public some Account; according to the Relations that I find of them in our Martyr's Letters; and of others that have been witnesses of them, that have seen them, and that have been themselves exposed to the like.

See what he writes of Monsieur D. L.; a person recommended by his great zeal, and that extraordinary charity wherewith he assisted all his brethren and fellow Sufferers on board the Galleys, and in the Prisons.

After having been (says he,) some time on board the Galleys, having been in a Summer's Expedition, as they would have dispensed with him from 'going a new Voyage'; the Sieur LAURENT, Superior of the Mission, having heard of it (for they are commonly those debonaire Ecclesiastics that, in all occasions, are instrumental in redoubling the ills and pains of the Confessors), he ran to him, and asked him, If he would go to the Hospital to be Instructed; that he might be excused from that Summer's Expedition?

'I am very far from such a thought,' answered that generous Confessor of the Truth.

They spake of Controversies. The conclusion whereof was, that the Missionary, by an excess of zeal, or rather of choler, called him, A very drunkard, saying, That, at that hour, he was drunk, and a babbler: and that Reverend Father was ready to cuff him with his fists.

He went on board the Galley, saying 'I will go; and return in it: but whatever happens, I will glorify GOD in my body!'

But the charitable assistances, and the good offices, which he had done to his brethren for divers years, being discovered: he was, for that reason, taken out of the Galleys, and carried into the Fort Saint Nicolas at Marseilles; [and] deprived of all conversation with others.

Monsieur LE FEVRE having, for a very long time, had a particular correspondence with the three famous Brothers, Messieurs D. S. [DE SERRES]; whom he compared to the Three Hebrew Children that were cast into the Fiery Furnace: whereof one ought to have been released from the Galleys, to which he was condemned only for Ten Years, if Roman Catholic zeal would suffer those Gentlemen to do the Justice they ought, and to keep their word with those whom they are pleased to call Heretics.

He mentioned them very often in his excellent Letters, with the praises he owed to their virtues: and everywhere with an extraordinary acknowledgement of the great services which he received of them; and of the brotherly kindness that they shewed him, to his death.

And we have elsewhere a great number of proofs of their great zeal and fervent charity; the memory whereof will never perish in the sight of GOD, nor in the minds of Men.

Monsieur D. S. [? PIERRE SERRES senior] the father, having been informed against, by some traitors, or [by] other means, for having distributed some money and books among the Confessors, Monsieur DE MONTMORT, Intendant of the Galleys, made him come before him in his house; and, having abused him, sequestered him in the Dungeon of the Hospital of the Galley Slaves, fastened, day and night, to a great chain: where they do not suffer him to have any communication with anybody whatsoever. And he is the very same, who was said to be one of those Galley Slaves that were condemned to that punishment of a Slave, that is called, 'The Bastonade on the Coursier'; a misfortune that was common to divers other Confessors: of which it will not be amiss to give you the Account of it here, in short.

After the carrying away of Monsieur D. L., whom we have mentioned before, and for reasons almost of the same nature as those in question here; the Afflictions (say the Relations that we have of it) increased daily.

And a rumour was spread at Marseilles, That they were going to shut up all the Confessors of the Galleys in [the]

The Intendant's dark Cells at the Hospital.

Dungeons of the Galley Slaves; as Monsieur D. L. was in that of [Fort] Saint Nicolas. But there were only, for that time, Monsieur D. S. P. and two of his fellow sufferers, Messieurs M. and S.; with a Roman Catholic, whose name was Monsieur PASQUET, a Slave of the same Galley. Monsieur D. S. [? PIERRE SERRES] [had done to him] some considerable services, by means of a certain woman of Marseilles; but who (having been suborned by her husband; who, it is likely, knew of the correspondence which she had with that Monsieur D. S., in favour of the rest) she went and declared it to Monsieur the Intendant, in hope of some good reward. Who, after some precautions about it, caused Monsieur PASQUET to be seized; and made him to be bastinadoed so severely, that he had almost died under the blows.

He caused Monsieur [FRANCOIS] SABATTIER to be also soundly bastinadoed; having ordered him to be brought into the Hospital of the Galley Slaves. He caused Monsieur D. S. the younger [? JEAN SERRES junior], in particular, to be brought from the 'Favorite': and having examined them all, he would have sent them to the Citadel; but the Governor of that place refused it.

Upon which refusal, the Intendant ordered little boarded rooms to be built in a great Chamber of the Hospital, with chains fastened to the wall. And because they should not speak with each other through the chinks, or receive ever so little light through them, he caused great lintels [*pieces of timber*] to be put everywhere: and, having chained them, he shut them up in them; feeding them with bread and water.

Monsieur MUSSETON was shut up there, by reason of a Letter that was intercepted at the Post Office; by which he gave an Account to Monsieur LEGER P., at Geneva, of the rigorous treatment that Monsieur the Intendant had exercised to Monsieur DE LAUSONNIÈRE, before all that disturbance.

As for Monsieur DE S[ERRES] the younger; it is not said that he was so cruelly treated as the rest, at least in regard of the Bastinado. His sincerity and constancy startled Monsieur the Intendant; who threatened him terribly, if he did not declare who sent them the Bills of Exchange and the books that he distributed: saying, That, by their examples and their billets [*Letters*], the DE SERRES [family] perverted the New Converts.

Living in the dark Cells on bread and water.

He frankly owned that he had received them; and shared them among his companions: but he protested, at the same time, that, if he should be torn in pieces, or be beaten to death, he would not tell of whom he had them!

In the mean time, he was shut up, like the rest, in a hole; where it is to be feared he will soon end his days: being of a weak constitution; and considering the bad provisions that are given there.

Afterwards, Monsieur ARCHAMBAUT, with the Intendant's Secretary, was on board the 'Hardy' Galley, to take Monsieur BANCILHON at his bench; where, having seized him, he forbade him to stir, that he might hide nothing, if he had anything about him: and having caused his irons to be taken off, he coupled him with a Turk, and caused him strictly to be searched; without having found anything but a well-specified [*detailed*] List of all the Confessors.

He was afterwards brought before the Intendant; who made him to be shut up in one of those Holes [in the great Chamber]: which he had reserved, to put them in, that the capricious [*caprices, whims*] of the Fathers of the Mission should direct him; where they are kept without seeing daylight, except a moment in the morning when they are served with bread, living at that time on bread and water.

We do not know whether there was some little lenity shewed them afterwards. He that served them with bread reports, That he always found Monsieur D. S. [? SERRES] praying to GOD.

THESE ARE THE Confessors, with whom our Martyr had most correspondence and acquaintance. I say, the most; for he had some with many others, and very considerable ones: as Messieurs DE L'AUBONIERE, LA CANTINIERE, NEAU, MORIN, PHILIPPE LE BOUCHER, VALETTE, BANCILHON, [FRANCOIS] SABATTIER, MUSSETON, BAPTISTE, BLANCHARD, and others; of whom I find glorious testimonies in his Letters. Some of whom have already died Martyrs in the Prisons and Dungeons: and the rest persevere gloriously in the holy race of Martyrdom; waiting for the Crown that GOD prepares for them in the Heavens, at the end of their conflict and their course.

Among all those, he makes mention of a Priest; who had been put on board the Galleys, and afterwards in a Dungeon of Fort Saint Nicolas, chained by the legs and hands: whom they had forced to alter his opinion by bad treatment, and threatenings to burn him; because he had been a Priest, and was converted.

As also of a Shepherd, who was also transferred from the Galleys to a Dungeon in Fort [Saint] Nicolas and from thence to a Dungeon of the Castle of J. F. It is a place, into which they go down on ladders; and where is no other light but that of a lamp, which the Gaoler makes them pay for. That place is so frightful, that a Monk, who went thither to see the prisoners that are there, could not forbear to say, That the place struck him with horror; that he had not courage enough to return thither again to visit them; saying, That the sad condition of those that were there, had forced tears from his eyes: and that worms were bred in the head of one of them, before he was dead.

It is out of that Prison, from whence that poor, simple, but illustrious, Shepherd found means to write Notes to his dear fellow Sufferers on board the Galleys. Here is one of them, directed to Monsieur FORTUNAT, Confessor; which is very edifying.

Sir, (says he) if I have not the honour to know you by sight, finding, by sad experience, with what exactness, sincerity, and zeal, you act towards everybody; I have reason to hope from your goodness, that you will permit my affections, this day, to come from the bottom of this dark Dungeon, to greet you, one day, in your chains, with all

A Letter of the simple, but illustrious, Shepherd.

the respect and humility that I am capable of, and to give you thanks at the same time for the good you do me; but, above all, Sir, for the prayers which you offer up to the Lord on my behalf.

I desire you, dear Sufferer of the living GOD, to supplicate that great GOD to have pity on such a poor, weak, and languishing, creature as I am; to give me meekness of spirit, to humble myself before my neighbours; to penetrate my heart by his immense charity, that I may love him only, all the days of my life. Lastly, [to] desire him that he would be pleased to give me all the Conformity I ought to have to the Doctrines of his dear Son: who came into the world to teach us by his Word, and to guide us by his good Example; to the end, that I may neither speak, say, or do, anything but what is for the glory of his name, the edification of my neighbours, and the advancement of my own salvation. If you grant me this favour, as I expect it from your charity; I can assure you, that I shall acknowledge it as I ought, all the days of my life.

I send you a Letter which I have taken the liberty to direct to Monsieur DU BASSONÈRE, and other friends.

Praying to the Lord to deliver you speedily from the inhumanity of our unjust Oppressors, that you may sing the sweet Songs of Sion in his holy House;

I am, Sir, and most illustrious Confessor of JESUS CHRIST,
With all the respect that is due to you,
and which I am capable to give,
Yours, etc.

This is (said our Martyr) what a poor Shepherd speaks and writes; who pretends not to have learned to write, but since he was in bonds for GOD's Cause. Is not this a kind of miracle? and is it not only literally, but eminently, the fulfilling of that promise of the Scriptures, 'And they shall be all taught of GOD!'

He writes [*wrote*] others also of the same style; which made one of the Confessors, that sent them to another, say, 'Might it please GOD that all Kings were as happy on their Throne, as this poor Shepherd is, in the dirt of the Dungeon! See what the grace of GOD can operate in the minds of the most ignorant!'

At first, he was reduced to lie almost naked on the ground, or rather on the stinking nastiness at the bottom of a Dungeon: where he received some money to sustain his miserable corporeal life; and some books; and some clothes to cover his nakedness.

THOUGH I HAVE no other design than to write the Life and Martyrdom of Monsieur LE FEVRE; leaving the whole History of all the Confessors on board the Galleys and in the Prisons to those that shall give us an Exact Description of the Persecutions and [the] Evils which they suffered: yet, nevertheless, I have said something of the condition of his friends, and of those that have had any particular correspondence with him. Neither do I believe that I ought to omit certain particular facts that happened in those Times; whereof he, or his correspondents, have informed us by their Letters: as also of some other vexatious events that concern[ed] all the Confessors in general.

Here is a very considerable particular of it.

I have been afflicted; but yet more rejoiced, (says the Confessor, of whom we have this History) for what happened, some days past, at Marseilles, to a young handsome Maiden; whom GOD took to himself by sickness.

As she was at the point of death, a Priest came to take her Confession; because she had been so weak [as] to fall [*to relapse*], when the torrent of Persecution ran so high. But she would not hear him: or, to say better, she made quite another Confession to that Seducer, than he expected to hear from her; when he charged her with denying her heavenly JESUS.

‘What!’ says he to her, ‘you do not believe that GOD is in the Host! Dare you revile such a great Mystery thus?’

‘No!’, said she, ‘I do not believe anything of it! My Saviour is spiritually everywhere: but Heaven is the place where he dwells, and I adore him there; and not in that which is nothing without him. This is my Faith; wherein I will die!’ So lifting up her eyes towards heaven; she gave up her Soul to her faithful Creator in that blessed disposition.

The Priest called witnesses to attest this. Upon this, her body is carried to the Court: from whence, according to the sentence passed upon it, it was drawn, by the Executioner, on a dung-cart, through the City; and then cast on a dung-hill.

The young Huguenot Maiden of Marseilles.

They cut off also the back part of her head; and it is said they cut out her tongue also, for having glorified her GOD.

Thus men exercised their dishonourable cruelty and inhumanity on that poor corpse, that was going to be buried: while the Angels carried her Soul triumphantly into ABRAHAM's bosom.

How honourable do I find that sepulture (continued he); and how glorious art thou, O, Daughter of Heaven! to bear the livery of thy Master, and of thy Spouse! and how happy is thy fate; which may put Temporizers to the blush, and is truly worthy of emulation! They refused that poor corpse the earth it required: and she was buried under a heap of stones; which the false devotees, armed with a furious zeal, discharged upon her.

Who could believe that so civilized and polished a nation as ours, and which [has] passed hitherto for such in the World, ever was, and is yet, capable (for new examples of it appear every day) of such cruelties and barbarities, which the Cannibals, the *Anthropophagoi*, and others of the cruelest nations in the Earth, would be ashamed to commit!

Nor can it be said, That it is only the effects of a furious and brutal Mob whose passions are carried to the excess: since it is done in [the] sight of the Clergy; who give encouragement to it themselves. It is done, with the knowledge of the Judges of the places; who do not hinder it. It is done, by virtue of the Sentences and the Decrees; which the Subalterns and the Sovereigns give against those Faithful; and, doubtless, the Court is not ignorant of it: and, consequently, it is equally approved and authorized by the Politicians and Ecclesiastics of the Kingdom. Herein they approve themselves to be Members of Antichrist; the greatest Enemy and Persecutor of the Saints, next to the Devil.

O, that, at one time or other, all the Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Sentences, and Judgements, given, in this unhappy Kingdom, against the poor Protestants, might be collected into a Body! and that the History of all the Cruelties and Barbarities that have been committed against them, in consequence of all those Judgements, might be published! It would be a fine Volume! It will make a fine part of the French Law, and be a great honour to the nation!

In the mean time, it is for the Interest of the Church of GOD that it should be known; and, on that occasion, it may be said, 'Here is the Patience and the Faith of Saints! And how long, Lord! how long!'

AS ALL THOSE poor Confessors had conceived some hopes, at least divers of them, that the Peace that was treating at Ryswick would bring some quiet to the Church; and some ease to its misfortunes, and perhaps their deliverance.

Perceiving that nothing came of it; they could not forbear to express some resentment upon that account: as if there had been a neglect in the Protestant Princes. But having been exactly informed by somebody they had enquired of, about the state of things in that respect; and of the invincible obstacles that were found against the good intentions, zeal, and charity, of the Protestant Princes and States: they humbly shewed their submission to the will of GOD; and resolved to be patient, and to persevere with an admirable confidence. And they gave great examples of it.

For, since that time, their Evils have been increased, instead of being abated; as well as the Persecutions against the Protestants that are yet in the Kingdom: for they have never ceased, nor been interrupted, during the War [of 1689-1697]; but have taken new forces and new measures, that (if it were possible) they might the sooner ruin the Protestant Religion. The Design whereof (if we believe the Panegyrists) makes one of the most remarkable characters of the French King's zeal and grandeur.

These poor Confessors have, since that time, had divers furious attacks; and [have] been exposed to a number of Miseries, of which there had been no one instance before: and which are only put in use against them, either by Orders from the Court; or by the solicitations of the Clergy, whose zeal is always passionate and furious; or by the advice of the Judges, Governors, Intendants, Almoners, and Officers of the Gallies; who are strongly persuaded that it is their advancement to hasten the ruin and the destruction of those that persist in the Protestant Religion, and who (by the example of their Patience) encourage others to persevere in it.

One of those Confessors says, in a Letter of the 29th of June 1699,

An Order is given on board all the Gallies, to put all Protestants to the Chain again, that had bought themselves off for their ease; and to make them be present at Mass:

The Fathers of the Mission direct the Almoners.

and, on the refusal of keeping themselves in the same posture as the Roman Catholics, to give notice of it to Monsieur the Commander of the Galleys.

And they have already treated two persons very rigorously. The one on board the 'Valiant' Galley, and the other on board the 'Queen' Galley: to whom they have twice given the Bastinado on the Coursier [*Chase Gun*] most cruelly; because they would not pull off their Caps, and keep standing, as the Roman Catholics, when Mass is said. I leave you to imagine what cruelty will be exercised against them; when they shall be exposed, all naked, to the tugging of the oar.

Two of those good Believers, DUCLOS and RICHARD, have suffered that bloody flagellation, with an admirable patience and constancy. Before they gave the Bastonade to the first; a wicked Sub Officer over the Slaves had stunned him with kicks on the head, to endeavour to make him stand up: and the Lieutenant (who is an unhappy Apostate; and who caused the Bastonade to be given him) caused him afterwards to be manacled; and caned the Turks to make them strike harder. But their constancy, instead of discouraging those wicked Persecutors, animated them the more against them; threatening them with more terrible Evils: while Messieurs the Almoners, who are their adversaries, make it their delight to have them treated so barbarously.

Are not these (adds the Confessor) good Disciples of JESUS CHRIST, and charitable Ministers of the Gospel! who use such means to submit Souls to the obedience of him, who says, 'Learn of me; for I am humble and meek!' They are Children of him who is a Murderer from the beginning. And that which is strange is, that while they treat us so cruelly, they have the impudence to tell us, That the Church does not love shedding of blood; and that people ought to be drawn by mildness.

As for what remains, (says he again) they are the zealous Fathers of the Mission of France (that are Directors of the Hospital of the Galley Slaves; and that settle Messieurs the Almoners in their employ), who have, as it is said, extorted that Order from a Minister of State: which can hardly be believed, that such an ingenious [*cultivated*] Minister has been capable of giving so cruel an Order, and so wicked, and contrary to Justice as well as Humanity.

Huguenots chained under the Tent at the Stern.

In the mean time, see how they behave themselves towards these poor people.

In the first place, the Almoners caused them to be fastened to the Chain in the Stern Quarter; near their altars. Then they tell them, That they should not pretend [*think, attempt*] to come, and commit any irreverence to their altars!

To which those Confessors answer, For what reason is it, that they chain them so maliciously near the Stern: and do not give them the liberty, as other Slaves, to go to the fore part of the Galley, from under the Tent, with the Turks: and then they could not scandalize them.

But they will not hear those reasons; but say, 'The King will have it so!'

There would be (continues he) a hundred times more reason to make them go to the fore part with the Turks, than the Primitive Church had formerly to make the Catechumens go out of the Temple, when they were going to celebrate the Eucharist.

WE HAVE BEEN informed since, by our Martyr's Letters, and by those of others, that the treatment which they received was come to a point of Cruelty of which there is no example, nor practice, on board the Galleys: insomuch that they have been obliged to present a Petition to the Intendant [which was written by Monsieur D. S. L., see page 384].

And seeing that Request has made so much noise at Marseilles, and at the Court, where it was sent; and that it produced the effects which we shall see hereafter: it is fit the public should see and judge of it.

It is this.

To my Lord, the Intendant, etc.

My Lord,

THE PROTESTANTS THAT are on board His Majesty's Galleys have never dared to represent to your Grandeur, the punishments which they have suffered, for so many years past, in common with the Galley Slaves: which are more than sufficient to afflict them.

But, my Lord, if they dare [to] open their mouth at this time, it is not to complain of those that are imposed on them more than on those wretched persons: but only to inform your Greatness of it, who, doubtless, will abhor it; [they] being contented to suffer, afterwards, what you please!

They supplicate your Lordship then, to permit them to inform you, with the most profound respect,

That the weakest among them are made to row in the posts, where the most vigorous can hardly hold it, under a shower of blows.

They give them Bastinados, and Double Bastinados, on the naked body, on the benches, or on the Great Gun.

Being sick in the Hospital; they take them from among the Turks (which is their common post), and place them among the Roman Catholics: to have a pretence [*an excuse*] to load them with chains, on the refusal they make

to adhere to their Mysteries; which they expose to their sight on purpose.

Some of them, they cause to be tied with cords to the benches; with their hands to their backs.

Others they drag to the Stern of the Galleys, where they perform their Divine Service; and where they are soundly beaten.

Others are actually kept in the 'Roujole,' the Sink [*Bilge*] of the Galley; where it is impossible to lie down or stand.

They are deprived of the least advantage that the greatest villains on board the Galley enjoy.

It would tire your patience, my Lord, if we should give you a longer particular of the hardships which they make them suffer.

To exercise, with Authority, those Excesses of Violence; they have been blackened at the Court, and before Monsieur the Commandant of this place, for having intercepted his orders.

They will not, my Lord, tire your Honour with the rehearsal of the bad ideas that have been given of them; nor that which might justly be opposed to them. But whatsoever is reported of them; GOD knows their innocency, and the candour of their conduct! which is, by his grace, without reproach towards Men; except their inviolable affection which they have for their Religion is counted a crime to them, which they have sucked in with their milk: and which being the only cause for which they are condemned to the Galleys; they ought to have no other punishment inflicted on them than those which their Condemnation bears, according to the Laws of Equity, and the intention of our great Prince; who, by his royal bounty, would not suffer this Re-doubling of Punishments, if it should come to his knowledge.

Whatsoever bad pencil they make use of, to describe them: they cannot represent them otherwise than that their Sacred Maxim always is, To fear GOD, to honour the King, and to be his faithful Subjects, and friends of the Community; as Saint PETER exhorts us to.

As for what remains, what Afflictions soever they can make them feel; they suffer them, by GOD's assistance, with all the patience and submission that the holy Gospel of our Lord JESUS CHRIST requires of his true Disciples;

and they will never discontinue their prayers for those very persons that add any weight whatsoever to their Affliction: chiefly for the happy preservation of our invincible Monarch, That GOD will be pleased to bless him, with his choicest blessings of Heaven above and Earth beneath; and maintain peace in his dominions, with a flourishing prosperity to his heart's desire.

They will not fail to pray to GOD also for your Honour, my Lord; and for those that belong to you.

Who would not have thought, but that the sight of such a Petition would have moved some compassion for those poor afflicted persons; and that (without favouring them with what they did not ask) orders would be given to do them that Justice which they had reason to hope for, on [*in respect to*] the Re-doubling and aggravating their Punishments, and the wrongs that were done them: against all the rules of Justice, and against the usage and practice of the Gallies; where they never (at least, without cause) increase the Punishments of those that are condemned there, beyond what the Sentence of their Condemnation bears; unless they commit new crimes.

In the mean time, the Petition was so far from producing that effect, that it served only to confirm and increase those Extraordinary Punishments and Rigours, which they represented in it to Monsieur the Intendant.

It happened to them, just as it did to the afflicted People of GOD in Egypt, when MOSES and AARON presented themselves before PHAROAH to ask the liberty for that People to go and sacrifice to their GOD: who, instead of granting it them, caused their yoke to be doubled. 'You are idle! you are idle! therefore you say, "Let us go, and do sacrifice to the Lord!" Go, therefore, now and work! for there shall be no straw given you; yet shall ye deliver the tale of [the] bricks.'

Their labours have been increased on the occasion of that Petition; which served only to make them more rigorously treated than before.

The Petition (says one of the Confessors, in a Letter of the 28th of June 1700) having been sent back from the Court: instead of its being verified or recorded, and to see if the truth had been declared in it; the Intendant's Secretary endeavoured only to find him out, that might be the Author of it.

For that purpose, he went on board some [of the] Gallies; questioning those whom he suspected. Some of those that were in the Roujole [*Bilge*], and consequently

Monsieur D. S. L. at once owns the authorship. 1700.

in the misery mentioned in the Petition, were first examined.

Afterwards, that Secretary, leaving the other Gallerians, went to Monsieur D. S. L.; and shewing him the Petition, he owned the fact immediately, saying, That he thought it unworthy for a good man, and chiefly for one that is called in question for the Truth, to tell a lie.

In the mean time, that Gentleman threatened him terribly at first.

Two days after, the Captain came; who, speaking more civilly to him, made him comprehend that that business might draw other disgraces upon him.

And, indeed, it set all these Gentlemen of the Mission, the Almoners of the Galleys, and divers other passionate persons, against him: who pretended to be offended by that procedure; and, looking upon him as the Author of that Piece, did their endeavour to ruin him.

He has been threatened with a Dungeon: which is (said he) to serve for a grave before his death.

They have writ[ten] to the Court about it; and represented him as a monster, that ought to be exterminated without relief. I am (said he) disposed to [*prepared for*] all events; knowing that my Enemies' strength depends on him in whom I hope: who will limit their power and their intrigues; if he sets none to their calumnies, and their unjust desires.

It is also thought that there was a particular Order from the Court, to keep him close shut up.

In the mean time, it appears plainly that the Court is much prepossessed against us; to condemn the very Complaints that are put forth in the bitterness of the hardship that is felt. They do not use the Turks and Barbarians so, that are Slaves with us: for they are heard, and have Justice done them.

We shall see, in the sequel, how, since that time, the hardships of those beloved Confessors have increased; and the means they have used to do it.

IN THE MEAN WHILE, Monsieur LE FEVRE, who felt those Cruelties continually in his Dungeon, and who was so far from seeing them either to end or diminish, that (in spite of all the Complaints which he daily made) he saw them rather to continue and increase, had also a design to prefer a Petition on his own behalf, as the other Confessors had done, after he should have his Pastor's opinion of it: to whom he writ expressly on that subject, in the month of November 1699. Who approved the design, not finding any inconveniency in it; because they could use him no worse than they did; and if it proved ineffectual for his relief (as it was more likely than otherwise), it would, at least, be a Witness, before GOD and Men, against the Authors of those Injuries and Cruelties.

But the counsel which he requested on that subject was accompanied with a strong and sincere Protestation of his compliance to the will of GOD; and a constant resolution of continuing to glorify him until the last breath of his life, by his Patience and Perseverance in the Faith: as all the other Confessors do, that acquit themselves, in a very edifying manner, of the Duties of Christianity; and that keep a holy correspondence on [*observance of*] that subject more exactly and more zealously than that which is performed in the Societies of the Churches that are free; admonishing and correcting each other with charity and brotherly love; attending to their duties as much as is possible; Fasting, Praying, and Exhorting each other continually, by word and writing, to piety and good works.

Our Martyr seeing the little success, and also the vexatious consequences which his brethren's Petitions had; and, it may be, not having, at that time, the liberty for it (for sometimes he was deprived of all conversation [*correspondence*]; and without being able to give any news of himself, or receive [*any*] from others): he had no great hopes to succeed in his Complaints; not seeing any likelihood that they were better disposed towards him than to his brethren.

He knew, by experience, that they were not favourably disposed towards him. For, from the year 1689, two charitable Ladies, of his kindred, had presented a Petition to the Intendant, Monsieur DE MONTMORT, to obtain his liberty; on a just suggestion which they made of his weak and languishing condition. But no regard was had to it.

So that he continued in his Misery and Sufferings: but always occupied in holy meditations; and in sending Prayers, Litanies, Paraphrases on the Psalms, Elegies, and Pieces of Christian Poetry, to his brethren and his other friends, for their edification; desiring their opinion and correction of them.

A little after he was put into the Dungeon of [Fort] Saint Jean, he began a Sonnet in praise of the King: which (he says) he communicated, without much reflection upon it, to the Commander. . . .

We have several Paraphrases of his, on all the Psalms; the translation of 'The Imitation of CHRIST' into Verse; Elegies, and Epistles to WILLIAM, King of England, of glorious memory; which, being joined together, would make a great Volume, that might be made public, if thought fit. All, or most of, those Pieces are at Geneva; where they talk of printing them: but that kind of Works has need to be reviewed again.

Having heard, at that time, that a particular Memoir was presented to His Britannic Majesty, to desire the deliverance of those poor Captives, particularly the infirm and others; among whom they had placed him, under the name of ISHMAEL LE FEVRE, Advocate at Dijon, instead of Advocate in the Parliament of Paris: he wrote, and sent (as was reasonable) a particular Memoir of his condition; wherein he represented the length of his Sufferings, and the Rigours they had exercised, and continued to exercise, against him.

In such a manner (as he said) as was not practised against any, keeping him shut up close in a place where he believed never any Prisoner had been put before him, of which he describes the insupportable inconveniences; and wherein he remarks there was no light, but from about noon until the hour that they brought him his supper; without having once been let out of it, for divers years, to take the air [*for exercise*], as is practised with other prisoners.

He had complained of all this, as he was advised; and as he notes in one of his Letters, in June 1700.

According as you advised me (says he, to his Pastor), in the last Letter you honoured me with; I complained of the corruption and malignity of my provisions; and the pains they brought upon me: but I was little the better for it. Those that have undertaken to make me renounce my holy Religion, say and do what they please. They have habituated themselves to do evil; and all the satisfaction

‘The King will not contradict himself!’

they have given me is, that they send me word, by my Nurse’s daughter, That they gave me such water as the Commander drank, and that they gave me the best of what they eat themselves; That I was sick, and had lost my taste; That everybody desired my liberty; and that it was only my fault that I had it not. But when they deny the most evident and palpable things; I have nothing to answer, but that I am here to suffer.

Nevertheless, my most dear and honoured Pastor, I can sincerely protest unto you that the corruption and malignity of the food which they give me, has strange effects on my body.

I shall not explain the particulars of them to you; but remark only these two. The one is, that it commonly made me void more or less blood out of my body. Formerly I had some days of ease: but, for some time past, there is no more of that. It is my daily bread. The other is, that, very often, it brings the Colic [*spasms*] into my breast and stomach, for divers hours. The last fit made me suffer violent pains, from the evening unto the next morning. I vomited sharp and bitter waters by fits: and, as they came up, my pain increased also.

For some time, I thought it was beyond what the Judge intended; or to explain myself more particularly, I could hardly think that the Court took notice of such small matters: but Monsieur DE MONTMORT, formerly Intendant, would not leave me in that thought.

Some days before the Peace [of Ryswick on September 11 1687 O.S.], he sent a citizen of Marseilles to me; who said, He was a Physician; and that he was ordered to inspect the food that was given me.

I was afterwards visited by another person, who answered me, being required to do it, That he came from Monsieur DE MONTMORT; who executed the Orders of the Court.

But, after those proceedings; they redoubled the dose: and the Fever, joining with other inconveniences, reduced me to keep my bed three or four days.

This is confirmed by the conversation I had with the Governor, the Major of the place who is at present Commander, and a Person of Quality, whose name I know not. The latter, after some discourse, spake to me thus, ‘You ought rather to yield to what these Gentlemen tell you, than to the solicitations and arguments of the Clergy: for, in short, you may be assured, That the King will not

Le Fevre wishes his Pension to be stopped.

contradict himself!’ He added, ‘If you had lived like a Saint; we should be less surprised at your resolution!’

And, on this occasion, he desired that they should persuade a Relation and friend of his, who was so charitable as to allow him a Pension, which he paid for him, to stop the same; seeing that, for so many years past, they had made such an inhuman use of it: pretending [*alleging*], it might procure him some ease, saying, Providence would take care of him!

So long as I had money, I made no scruple of putting it in the hands of the Officers of the Fort. I have signed all the Bills [of Exchange] they have presented [to] me; and all those they required of me.

He adds, That he ought not to forget to mention what a Knight of the Order of Saint Louis had repeated two or three times to him, to wit, That it was not for his Religion that he was taken out of the Galleys, to be put into Prison: but because he writ, together with DE MAROLLES, into foreign countries; and that he had made Verses against the King.

I undertook (said he) to prove that imputation false: and I always told that Gentleman, That he was the only person that durst say any such thing; and so ill invented. And, indeed, I did not begin to write into foreign countries, and to make Verses, till I was detained a Prisoner at this Fort: where I made but an indifferent Sonnet in praise of the King. My intention was good.

Besides, when I was brought hither, Monsieur DE SCORHIVE, Commissary of the Galleys, to whom I had been recommended, told me, ‘It was to ease me.’ In truth, if it was intended so; it was very ill performed.

As for what remains, it is very likely that they had a mind to make him away, by that ill treatment and that corruption of food: as they did to Monsieur DE MAROLLES, in making him to fast, and almost starve, in Prison; and it was that, indeed, that hastened his death. But it pleased GOD to preserve his person longer, in spite of the violence and injustice of his Persecutors, for the consolation of his dear Companions; and the edification of the Church of GOD, which is so much honoured by his Patience and Perseverance.

IT WAS SO far, as we have remarked, from any regard having been had to the just complaints of the General Petition presented by the Confessors of the Galleys, as all the Rules of Justice and all Human Laws required, that, after that time, the condition of those poor afflicted persons grew worse, their pains and labours were increased, and New Inventions and Ways were found out for pretences to torment them; and to avenge the Missionaries, Almoners, and others, for the ill success of the pains they took to convert those pretended [*so called*] Heretics: who, by their Patience and Perseverance in their holy Religion, confounded their pernicious designs.

For it is not [to be] questioned, but that it was from the artifices and the suggestion[s] of those good-natured Clergy (Ministers, not of JESUS CHRIST; but of that Apocalyptical Beast, that was to be made drunk with the blood of the Saints [Rev. xvii. 6.]) that what they call the Bastinado was invented [*that is, applied to the Confessors*]: which is the most cruel and rigorous of all the punishments that they make use of in the Galleys, and that only, on the greatest villains, and in extraordinary cases; and which they have found proper to put in use against our Confessors, as being judged most efficacious to triumph over their Faith and their Patience.

They had, indeed, made use of it against divers among them, on certain occasions; as has been observed in the person of the glorious Martyr, PIERRE MAURU. But the barbarity was not so general, neither for the causes, nor on the pretences, they took, in those Times, to exercise it against so many innocent persons. I mean, against all those that would not comply with their idolatrous Worship, or take off their Caps while they were performing, what they call, the Divine Service: which, for that reason, they placed them, before they began, in such places where they might be spectators of it; as the other Roman Catholic Galley Slaves.

But few persons are ignorant of the History of the Bastinado. It may be said, that all Europe has been informed of it; and abhorred it. And we are willing to do our unhappy nation that justice to believe, that there are a great number, I will not only say of those that are good men, but [of] many others; and it may be also, a good number of the Clergy (whose zeal is not altogether so passionate and furious), that

First Storm and Fury of the Bastinados. June 1699—July 1701.

heartily detest those cruel and bloody Executions, that are exercised on account of Religion.

I do not pretend [*attempt*] to write an exact and particular History of it here. Divers Relations have been seen of it in several places, that have been printed; with the names of those that suffered it, and of the Galleys on which they endured the Torment.

I shall only speak summarily of it, and with respect to what our Martyr informed us of it, in his Letters: wherein he thought it was material to acquaint us [with] what he knew of it, by the few Relations that were sent him from the Galleys to his Prison, for his holy consolation and pious exhortations on that subject; and by what we find of it, in some of those Confessors' Letters to our, and their, friends.

We see in one of those Relations, printed at Amsterdam, the Title whereof is,

A Relation of the Cruelties that are at present exercised on our Brethren of France, on board the Galleys; according to the true Advices from Marseilles.*

I say, we see there the names of above Thirty of those innocent persons, of all ages and conditions, soundly beaten, at divers times, and on board divers Galleys.

I shall take notice of some of them, that I find in my Memoirs; and describe the most memorable circumstances of the Torments of some of them; which the Extracts, that are sent us, mention.

The epoch [*time*] of the beginning of this kind of Massacre is noted to us from about the end of the year [or rather from June] 1699 [see page 378]; which have continued above a year, not having ceased until about the month of July 1701: which was done by the Fury and Malice of the Missionaries; who, by false information, have surreptitiously obtained Orders from the Court, as it is pretended [*alleged*], to cause the Bonnet or Cap to be taken off, during the Service; and to punish them that refused to do it.

In consequence whereof, the Officer that commanded in the Port, went on board the Galleys; and caused that Bastonnade to be given to divers, that refused to take off their Caps.

Being tired with that sad spectacle; he sent the Major of the Galleys to perform those inhuman Executions: and, with divers sweet words mixed with rigorous threatenings, he gained some of them; and made the rest to be carried away by force, and ill treated. But those that had promised, acknowledged their faults; and protested that they would take off their Caps no more: resolving rather to suffer the worst, than yield to the Enemy. Some of them have had the Bastonnade

* The contemporary English translation of the Tract, of 1700, has been

reprinted at pp. 231-302.—E. A.

The Storm was great on the Galleys in harbour.

two or three times, on that occasion [*account*].

The Storm was great on board of all the Galleys that were in harbour; except that wherein the Old Men and Invalids were: where nothing was said at that time; fearing, perhaps, to give them the Crown of Martyrdom too soon. Those that were at sea were also exempted from it.

Some of the Officers, that presided at those fine Executions, exhorted them only to take off their Caps, by way of civility; and not to give any scandal: and that they did not desire them to change their Religion.

‘Take off your Cap! Look towards the Stern!’ said the Major to any, whom he had a mind to lash, ‘and, afterwards, pray to GOD! CALVIN! or whom thou wilt!’

And as some of the weakest had some scruples, under the umbrage [*excuse*] of that Civility; and some inclination to comply with it, to avoid such great punishments: they were fortified against it, by their other brethren. They yielded wholly to their Exhortations; and were confirmed in them, by what a Pastor writ to them, whom they had desired to do it.

Here is an Extract of a Note from Marseilles; that precedes what we have related, some months. [October 1700.]

THEY HAVE UNMERCIFULLY butchered our brethren on board the Galleys that were not at sea, for justly refusing to put off their Bonnets [*Caps*] during the Service: and they have been so exasperated against those that shewed an unshaken constancy, that they have put them in such a condition as would make the rocks to tremble, if they were capable of any sense. After that barbarous usage; they carried divers of them, who were constant, to the Hospital.

The first time they gave that cruel Bastonnade to Monsieur SERRES the Elder; he had almost expired under the burden of that punishment: as you will see, by one of his Letters, which I annex to this.

I leave you to think, in what a pitiful condition they put him, the next morning; when they gave it him again in such a cruel manner, that the blood gushed, or at least spurted out, upon the Great Gun. [*The Chase Gun, at the Prow, on the Coursier or raised Gang-way, between the two rows of Slaves.*]

From thence, he was carried to the Hospital. From whence, after GOD had miraculously recovered him, he was transferred to the Castle of J.F.; and there he is left, without so much as giving him an old straw bed to lie on. GOD be praised! we have heard from him. His almost broken bones make him feel great pains all over his body.

The two Messieurs CARRIÈRE's, that underwent the same inhumanities, are transferred also to the same place.

Poor Monsieur ELIE MAURIN, who was twice put upon the rack, is shut up in the Hospital, with bread and water.

Monsieur LE HOUSTALES, and others, are still very sick.

ALEXANDRE [ASTIER, see page 274], of the 'Magnanime,' Galley, has been tortured four times with a tarred rope, dipped in the sea; which makes it as hard as an iron bar.

No! what reason soever I have to comfort myself, (says

1700. Pierre de Serres the Elder's Letter of October 18th.

that Confessor) and to wipe the tears from my eyes, for the joy that the sublime glory of their Triumph ought to give me: yet I cannot stop them, when I represent to myself the horrible Martyrdom they have been made to suffer; and when I converse with those about it, that afflict their Souls with me for them. Surely, the Deliverer draws near! seeing the number of the bricks are doubled. [Ex. v.]

Before all things, Monsieur my dear Ally, and most honoured Pastor (It is Monsieur LE FEVRE that speaks here; and who sends those Extracts), I invite you to come and see what may be called a Man, more than *Vir prodigii*, who, like a brave Soldier, is never more ardent, than on [the] occasion, and in the midst, of danger. The ruder the shock is, the more his heart is inflamed! Notwithstanding all the sores he is covered with; he is yet preparing for greater combats!

An Extract of a Letter, that Monsieur de Serres the Elder writ, the 8th of October 1700, with a bloody and torn body, and manacles on his hands; with this Inscription

To the dear Faithful, that have not been ashamed of me, in my chains; Peace, Love, and Grace of our Lord, be communicated and multiplied unto you to the end!

Gentlemen, Ladies, and Brethren; whom I love in JESUS CHRIST,

I WRITE TO you, with manacles on my hands; and the Marks of my Divine JESUS printed on my back.

C., and another, that went before me, having obeyed, after four blows with the cudgel; the Major came to me.

He told me a parcel of idle Stories: to which I answered in few, but sedate, words, That he might do his Office!

My resolution animated him against me: so that he gave me the cruellest blows in the World; and my Soul was almost expiring.

He would have had me to comply, by forbearing to strike me: but seeing me to persist in my resolution, he was enraged.

My constancy, which was an example to others, gave them courage: but I am deceived. It was the Celestial

Grace! What thanks do I owe to my GOD for the inestimable favour he has done me, to suffer for the Interests of his Glory! Let all Christian people praise him with me! To which I invite you, dearly Beloved in the Lord! But, above all, faithful Souls, pray him to give me the gift of Perseverance! that I may hold out to the end! without which, all the rest would be vain; and I should be covered with eternal confusion.

As the Major was yet treating our brethren ill; and that, by his order, they were putting manacles on me: a man came hither from Monsieur the Intendant, whose name is Monsieur REGIS; who whispered the Major in the ear, and showed him a Memoir.

Presently, I was asked for: and the Major said to him, with a threatening tone, 'O, it is Monsieur SERRES! I have lashed him severely: but, this evening, I will lash his back, so that he shall feel it as long as he lives!'

So that, my dear friends, I am preparing myself for death; and shall be happy, if I die in the Faith. They desire it more to me, than to all my companions together.

It is thought, that I shall be, this evening or to-morrow, at the Castle of J. F.; after they have put me to the Torture. I wish it was this hour; for it would spare me an inexpressible Torment.

I have served my brethren in the Forts, and here; with the hazard of my life! I have exhorted them as well as I could; and served them for an example. May it please the Father of Mercy that I do not degenerate! In the name of the Lord, implore the assistance of GOD, that I may remain victorious! Accompany me, with your prayers, in my Dungeon! If I am carried thither, I shall not lose sight of you: but shall, for ever, preserve the remembrance of your bounties, charity, and tenderness! May it please GOD to give you ample rewards for it, in this life; and Eternal Happiness in that which is to come!

I embrace and honour you, with all my heart! and am, and ever shall be, Gentlemen and Ladies, Brethren and Sisters in our Lord JESUS CHRIST,

Your most humble, and most obedient, Servant,

[PIERRE DE] SERRES.

The 18th of October 1700,
on board the 'Fortune' Galley.

All this was written with that Martyr's own hand.

‘Our triumph will bring honour to the Church.’

No! that I may be suffered to say so, (adds he, whose History I write) there is none but the Spirit of JESUS CHRIST that can cause any body to act and speak thus, on the like occasion: therefore eternal Praise and Glory ought to be given to him for it!

Monsieur LE FEVRE says, That brave Confessor was in those holy and courageous dispositions before he entered in the combat: which he shews by an Extract of Letters to his dear brother that was in the Port of Genoa. Wherein, after having spoken of divers Confessors that had been cruelly tormented (to wit, Messieurs CARRIÈRE, and FAJAN, a Proselyte, whose constancy had sustained so many assaults, and disappointed the Almoner, who was a passionate man, of his design: and four that were on board the ‘Magnanime,’ Galley, who suffered the Bastonnade twice), he says, That he was also threatened; but that he was ready, and expected all from the success of Grace: ‘If we confess JESUS CHRIST,’ said he, ‘before men; he will confess us before his Father, and the angels, etc.’

‘If GOD makes us triumph; our triumph will bring as much honour to the Church of GOD as shame to unchaste Babylon. Our victory will be her defeat: and the means which she makes use of filling [up] the Cup of her Abominations, her unhappy end of her dark reign will be so much the nearer.’

In another [Letter], he says, That he is like a City that is blocked up; and which expects, every moment, to be besieged by a formidable Army, that will put all to Fire and Sword; ‘and I fortify myself against all attempts; and hope to disappoint the Design of all the forces that are against me: because my eyes are upon GOD! I conjure you, to pray to him for me! and for all those in the same condition with me! that we may be powerful and invincible Wrestlers with GOD.’

This is (says our Martyr) a great example of strength; but also, at the same time, a mournful subject. I cannot forbear to say, That it may be they never revenged themselves more sadly, more uselessly, and in a more deplorable manner.

To be thus treated (adds he) is called in Latin, *excarnificari* [*the flesh to be torn to pieces*], if I am not deceived. I would fain know, what names the French Roman Catholics give to those fine Executions? For, in short, against whom do they revenge themselves? Against true Sheep! Against Victims of Humility and of Patience; that do not cease to pray for the conversion, and for the prosperity, of those that flay us, and devour us!

But in spite of all those torments; this faithful Confessor is yet living [March 1700], and continues to glorify GOD in a Dungeon of the Castle of J. F.: into which place he was removed, with divers other brethren, that suffer there, like him, all the Horrors and Cruelties where-with they are able to treat prisoners, whose Life and Perseverance confound the false zeal of the Enemies and Persecutors of the True Religion.

Meanwhile his younger brother suffered almost the same Rigours, divers years, in a Dungeon of Fort Saint Nicolas: where he was joined with the illustrious Monsieur DE L'AUSONNIÈRE; who was removed thither before him: and who had been so great a succour and edifier to all his brethren on board the Galleys and in the Prisons, by a great many good and charitable Offices which he did [to] them, to the hazard of his life; and for which, he was shut up in the Dungeon.

The third brother of Messieurs [DE] SERRES continues on board the Galleys, where he endures the same labours as the other Confessors; not having been exposed to the cruel and extraordinary Bastonnades of those that were on board the Galleys that are in harbour: because he was then at sea, in the Galleys that conducted the Cardinals that went for Rome, to Civita Vecchia; and which were [for] some time in the harbour of Genoa. So that he did not arrive at Marseilles until after the Storm of the Bastinados was over: which, as we have said, lasted a little above a year [or rather from June 1699, p. 378, to July 1701, p. 390].

One of those three brothers. having been condemned to the Galleys but for nine or ten years, ought, according to the course of Justice, to have been set at liberty at the end of that term. It was demanded; and they solicited also for a pretty long time, after the expiration of that time: but it was in vain. The Roman Catholic zeal, that will not have them keep faith with Heretics, dispenses also Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, with breaking of Treaties made with them; to violate the

1701. All Europe abhorred these cruel Bastonnades.

most sacred Edicts, and Laws, and Judgements, when it is advantageous to them: which they *observe* rather to the greatest villains of mankind; and to those that may be called, the Plagues of the Common-wealth.

It was in the same spirit that an Order being come from the Court, to set all the 'Invalids,' those that had accomplished their time, and those that had been condemned for deserting, at liberty; of whom there were some of the Religion: there was another Order to strike them out of the Roll of those that were to be set at liberty, if any had been placed in it; and forbidding any of them to be placed in it, for the future. It is not said, by what Order; but there is no reason to believe that it comes from anywhere else, because they durst not do anything in that regard, but by those Superior Orders: which do not want, on such occasions, to be most powerfully solicited by our poor Confessors' good friends, the Missioners and the Clergy, as the matter of the cruel Bastonnade was; which may be very well said to be the work of those persons, who (at the sight of those very Executions that were made of them) had the impudence to say, That the Church did not love blood.

This ought to make us (say some of those Confessors, in an excellent Letter which they writ on that subject) to redouble our prayers for the conversion of our enemies; and [to] take the better heed to ourselves: considering that we have still need of the Fiery Trial; seeing that Providence leaves us in it. GOD grant it may be, in his mercy, for our sanctification and his glory!

They had also demanded the deliverance and liberty of some Vaudois, the Duke of Savoy's subjects, according to the Orders he had given for it to his Ambassador at the Court of France: and they had writ about it to Marseilles. But as they were in hopes to see the effect of it; the calumnies wherewith the Missionaries blackened those poor people, and wherewith they had influenced the Court, have hindered their deliverance hitherto.

This was written in the month of March 1700.

At last, the Fury of the Bastinado ceased in the year 1701; also by Order from the Court.

It is very unlikely that it was in compassion of the Miseries of those innocent Confessors of JESUS CHRIST; seeing they have none for so many and other unusual and extraordinary Miseries, to which the other Galley Slaves are not exposed.

But as all Europe, all the foreign Princes and States of all Europe, as well Roman Catholic as others, shewed an abhorrence of it; and could not forbear to reproach the Ambassadors and Envoys; and other public

‘They chain our feet; but they cannot chain our Souls!’ 1702.

and private persons of that Court whom they saw, for it: it made them something ashamed, and they were ordered to cease, after some Informations made on board the Galleys by themselves of the state of things in that regard [*respect*]; where both the Missionaries and [the] Officers excused themselves as well as they could, endeavouring to lessen the heinousness of the facts. Some of them [, however,] impudently denying it: but still retaining their hatred, passion, and spirit of revenge against those poor afflicted Captives. After which, they had a kind of calm for some months: but the Storm was not long from returning.

We have noted unto you, (say two of those famous Confessors) by our Letter of July last (They writ this in January 1702), that we enjoyed some calm; but, a little while after, they put us to the Chain again, and searched us very strictly. They took all our books from us; yea, though they were of Roman Catholic Authors: as also the money which we had; however, that was returned to us again, the next day. But if they had found any considerable sum, and had not kept it: they would have returned it to us, penny by penny, to the end that they on whom they found it, might not assist their brethren with it, as they formerly did. For they have always taken very great care to hinder charity among us; for which reason, divers have been shut up in Dungeons.

Moreover, the Gentlemen Missionaries caused the Order to keep us to the Chain, to be renewed.

‘We are’, say they, ‘a Mark and Laughing Stock to the first comers!’: but we take heed to the Orders of Providence; and we submit ourselves to its will; without which, they cannot hurt a hair of our head. Let the World despise us as much as it pleases; if it please GOD, the angels will acknowledge us one day in glory! The reproach of JESUS CHRIST is better than all the honours and pleasures of the World.

They chain our feet: but they cannot chain our Souls! nor hinder them from mounting up to GOD!

They make our Bodies labour and sweat: but our Soul raises itself towards heaven, and unites itself to GOD, rejoicing in the sense of its love!

They shut us up in dark Holes; and sequester us from all society: but they cannot hinder GOD from visiting us, in his love; and his holy angels from keeping us faithful company!

In this manner, those generous Confessors comforted each other; giving glory to GOD, and edifying his Church.

IN THE MEAN TIME, those poor Recluses in the Prisons and Dungeons were no more spared, than those on board the Galleys. Their misery continued: and [was] increased on some; having been more strictly kept than usually.

Monsieur LE FEVRE was one of those. For the ill treatment whereof he complained, though in vain, continued until his death, or to the approaches of his death; which happened in the month of June 1702, when GOD delivered him, at last, from all his Miseries: not having been able, for above a year before, to receive any Letters from any of his friends on board the Galleys, and elsewhere; nor to send any of his to anybody whatsoever.

If [Madame SALICOFFRE,] a Lady of Marseilles saw him sometimes, it was in the presence of such persons that did not give them the liberty to discourse together of what they would willingly have done.

It was only known that he was living, but with many inconveniences and Evils: and [was] growing, every day, weaker and weaker; but always in the most pious and Christian dispositions that a Martyr of JESUS CHRIST could be capable of.

So that, from the beginning of the year 1700 until that absolute deprivation of all correspondence, we have had but two or three Letters from him.

The one containing the Historical Extracts of the cruel Executions of the Bastonnade; which we have described.

Another, wherein he represents his miserable condition; and the reasons he had to demand his deliverance, under the name of an 'Invalid,' almost entirely consumed by the long continuance of his Sufferings. It was, without doubt, because that he had heard that Lists were making for that purpose, that were to be sent to the Court: not knowing, perhaps, that those of the Religion were to be excepted out of it.

But not relying much upon that, he prepared himself for death: concerning which, his Pastor (who had been informed that the continuation of his Troubles had very much weakened him) writ to him, to confirm him more and more in his glorious hopes; for which he had courageously fought, and continued yet to do. To which, making a short recapitulation of his Troubles, he answers, That he will live and die in that Faith. That they had taken the freedom of Money from him divers times; but that he preferred the hopes of his Salvation before all that.

Afterward, he desired them to take care to pay some small debts, which he remembered; and which were but of very little consequence.

The third and last was of the 18th of January 1701: wherein he answers another of that Pastor, on the same subject as the first. See some Extracts of it here.

He says, The Apostle Saint JAMES calls those blessed that have persevered in their Sufferings.

I am not surprised, Sir, and my most honoured Pastor, that you speak the same language to me: neither that you add to it, That Fifteen years of Combat and Perseverance against all the efforts of the Devil and the World are, without contradiction, admirable dispositions for a happy death; and an infallible security of a glorious reward. In speaking thus, you suppose what is to be supposed.

But, alas, how trembling is this foundation in regard to me! What we do, is mixed with good and evil: and I must confess that my best actions fall short of those inward motions that ought to make them valuable. How can I count them worthy [of] anything?

It is true, that I am resolved to suffer; and to suffer all, both life and death, as much as lies in me: and that I give nobody cause to complain. But though I endeavour to live well, and to attain to the glorious liberty of the Children of GOD; I force myself much, and advance but little.

And here it must be observed, That never anybody spake to him of GOD's grace towards him; of the opinions they had of his Faith and of his Patience in his conflicts; of the joy he ought to have of it within himself; and of the edification that others received by it: but that he immediately opposed his defects, his weakness, and his imperfections, against it; and as he always was intent upon them, he would have been willing that they would have set them often before his eyes.

Do not, my dear Pastor, (said he) give so much attention to those little advantages, which you praise in me: but remember, above all things, to pray that I may be delivered from those great sins that are always in me. Testifying also, in the mean time, everywhere great acknowledgements to GOD for the Graces he had granted him; and living continually in a holy confidence in his mercy, and a solid hope in his salvation.

As he was very much concerned to have his relations discharge themselves of [*discontinue*] the Pension, which they allowed him for

1701-02. No Letter from Le Fevre for seventeen months.

his subsistence; he pretended, That living upon what the King allows for the maintenance of the Captives, they would not be so eager to corrupt his food. I do not apprehend for what reason. It may be, he had a very good one for it; which he did not tell. He insisted yet extraordinarily on that subject, in his last Letter: and prays that his generous benefactor might be persuaded of it; as he had formerly desired him many times.

But that charitable relation thought he ought not to yield to such desires, saying, as he himself reports it in his Letters on the abuse which he said was made of that money, That he had answered him, That he ought always to do his duty: and if they put that money to a wrong use, it was so much the worse for them, that did it to the prejudice of a poor Prisoner.

And upon this, he enlarges himself, in his acknowledgements, in praises and in blessings to that charitable relation, and his great family. And ends that last Letter, which was of the 18th of January 1701, with fervent and most sincere prayers for his Pastor and his family: which he never failed to do in all his Letters, but which he does in this, with an extraordinary fervour; such as a pious dying person does for his family and his friends, which was a kind of Presage that it was his Last Benediction.

For, since that time, that is to say, a whole year and some months, we have received none of his Letters: nor did he receive any that his Pastor writ to him, in hopes that, at last, he might overcome the difficulties that hindered the correspondence, as those of the brethren on board the Galleys made us hope; having, for their part, done all that lay in their power, to bring it about.

One Lady [, Madame SALICOFFRE,] only had leave to see him sometimes, but very rarely, as we have said, in the presence of witnesses. She found him always almost in the same resolutions as Saint STEPHEN was in, that moment when they went to stone him, that is, full of Faith and of the HOLY GHOST, and of all zeal and charity also for his Persecutors.

The last time she saw him, was two days before his death. He seemed to her very weak and lean: using, but in vain, and without receiving (as he said to that Lady) any ease, the physic they would permit to be given him.

She went away very much edified by him; recommending him to the grace of GOD, and to those who (in that extremity of his life) looked after him: with a promise that he should be interred, and put into the ground, after his death, which happened the second day following; during which time, he had, with respect to his Soul, only the presence of his GOD, and the consolations of his Spirit, for his assistance. . . .

BESIDES WHAT THE Lady SALICOFFRE, who had seen him two days before his death, writ of him to a Lady of her acquaintance at Paris; some famous Confessors have taken care to inform us of it also, by a Letter of the 14th of June 1702; that is to say, two or three days after his death.

Finally (says Monsieur D. S. H. J. to us, in making a kind of Eulogy or Panegyric on that blessed Martyr). Finally, that blessed Champion of the Lord JESUS, the most illustrious and the most generous of my Companions in Sufferings, passed at eleven of [the] clock of night from the bitterness of the Conflict to the ineffable sweets of the magnificent Triumphs of the blessed Martyrs of the Lord JESUS CHRIST. What glory! what incomparable honour! was it for that famous Confessor to die in the field of battle, in remaining more than Conqueror by that powerful Saviour. But rather, what inexpressible happiness is it for him, to have so well defended that good Master's Cause; and to have received, of his merciful favour, the just prize of the inviolable Fidelity that he had for him, the Crown of Life, which he promised to all them that conquer.

See, I say, that holy Martyr passed from his long and most uneasy Prison into the perfect liberty of the Children of GOD! from that dark dwelling that had served for a Stable, and wherein there is yet a manger, into the Palace of the King of Kings, all radiant with light! from his tiresome solitude into the company of the holy angels and of his Companions in Service that are dead, like him, for the Testimony of JESUS! In a word, behold him passed to the full possession of GOD himself; to enjoy the sublime riches of his Glory, and taste the blessed Peace, to the Eternal Consolation of his Soul!

Certainly, the contemplation of his charming Glorification stops my tears; and so far am I from calling him back to earth again by my sorrows, that I desire to dislodge from under these Tents of Kedar, where they never speak of Truce or Peace, to enter into that delightful Mansion of

the Prince of Peace! where Righteousness dwells; which will be incomparably better for me, than to remain longer in this afflicting Abode of Mortals.

It is, my most honoured Pastor! the sweet hope of being one day with our good JESUS, to contemplate the Glory that GOD gave him, that supports me in the long course of Seventeen Years' labour in chains, that I endure for his Gospel: and that hope will not confound me, by the assistance of his Grace; wherein I most humbly place all my confidence, to overcome all the Enemies of my salvation.

He adds, in another Letter,

All our Society is afflicted at that loss. The death of our most precious Friend will particularly pierce my dear brethren his Associates with grief. The Lord comfort us all!

He says, That he considered nobody in the World more than his dear person, for his favours to him and his brethren; and for the consolations and edifications which they all received of him.

When those on board the Galleys were informed of his dying condition; that dear Confessor had composed an excellent Prayer, proper for the consolation of a Believer that is going to give up his Soul to GOD: but they could not send it him. Finally, he informs us, That they were told, that the Commander, seeing him, after his death, carried from the Prison, said to those that were with him, 'See! The mortification that this poor man suffered Sixteen Years and Two Months in that Prison is something wonderful!' This he repeated divers times: being doubtless forced to the admiration of that Martyr's Patience; in spite of so many Evils and trials that he suffered, and which were known to that Officer.

We learn, by another Letter from Messieurs B. B., posterior to that of which we have given you an Extract,

That the same evening in which he died, they found the means to give him the last Letter from his Pastor. But, being near his end, and not able to read, he ordered it to be carried back again, that those things might not be found about him.

Those Confessors say, That he retained his senses to the last. For a man, that saw him take some broth a little

1702. Four Confessors carry him to his grave.

before night, told us, That he spoke freely; and that he believed that he should die that night. As it also happened about eleven of the clock. His lungs were touched some time before: and, the three or four last days, he was taken with a looseness [*diarrhœa*] and vomiting, that weakened him quite.

We were exceedingly afflicted at it: and being only able to assist him with our wishes, we recommended our brethren to redouble our prayers.

As for his corpse, Madame SALICOFFRE caused it to be wrapped up in linen, and laid in a coffin: and he was buried by four of our brethren.

We are sorry that we could not collect what he might have said in his sickness. He is dead: that is to say plainly, He has conquered, by the grace of GOD. There remains nothing more for him than to triumph with his Saviour; and to possess that Eternal Kingdom and Crown, which he freely purchased for his Confessors and Martyrs. . . .

... **H**OWEVER, IT IS by the assistance of those Kings, Princes, and Powers, of the World, that that Beast exercises its Furies and Tyranny against the Church of GOD and his Saints. It is, by her continual solicitations, that she obliges them to second her damnable Designs to destroy and exterminate them wholly from the earth, if it were possible: and that she inclines them, for that purpose, to violate all the Laws of Humanity! all the Laws of Society! all the Rules of Justice! their Words! their Oaths! their most authentic and most inviolable Edicts and Declarations! according to that damnable principle, That no faith ought to be kept with Heretics.

It is that, of which we have seen in the foregoing Ages, and in this more than [in] any other, the fatal examples that all the World knows: particularly in our unhappy country.

Where they have sacrificed to the furious zeal of the Clergy divers Hundreds of Thousands of the King's good Subjects and faithful Servants; in whom no other crime was found than that of their Religion.

Where they have cruelly pursued those that endeavoured to leave it, to serve GOD at liberty in foreign countries; filled the Prisons and the Gallies with a great number of those poor fugitives; and where they put yet, every day, men, women, and children of all ages, of all sexes, and of all Conditions [*Quality*], in the Prisons, Gallies, and Convents.

Where they punish with death those that they discover in private Assemblies to pray to GOD at liberty: and they unpardonably condemn the Ministers and others (that go to instruct, comfort, and confirm them in the Faith) to Gibbets, Racks, and to the most cruel punishments.

Where, by divers ways, they forced those that remained in the Kingdom to go to Mass, to communicate, and participate in the Idolatrous Worship that is practised here: leaving them, for that purpose, to the discretion of the Clergy, Intendants, Governors, and Judges of Provinces; among whom, it is rare to find any Equity in that regard [*respect*].

Though it may be, there are some of them that do it against their will; but, who, to make their Court, are obliged to perform those cruel duties: and whose great reason, which they allege, for the Violences which they commit is, That the King commands it. As if Kings and

1703. 'God will require an Account of their Usurpations!'

Princes are Masters of their Subjects' Consciences, as they are of their Bodies and Estates.

Finally, where it has been, and yet may be, seen, the Clergy (Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Monks), at the head of the Soldiers and Marshals' men, perform their Mission in the places where there are yet any Protestants; and force them, by imprisonments and great fines, to do what they call their 'duty': that is, to go to their Churches, and assist at the idolatrous and superstitious Worship of their Religion; and to send their children thither, whereof divers examples might be alleged, if it were expedient.

All this is done with pomp; and in the sight, and with the knowledge, of all the World. All Europe is well informed of it, by true Relations that are everywhere made of it. But GOD sees it also. He hears it. He takes notice of it: and, one day, he will require an Account of all those Powers, of their Usurpations over his Empire and his Rights. . . .

An Extract of, A Memoir concerning
Monsieur Le Fevre, from Marseilles,
the 21st of August 1702.

MONSIEUR LE FEVRE, having been condemned to the Galleys by the Parliament of Besançon, came sick to Marseilles, the 20th of August 1686.

He was presently looked upon, as a person fit to support and strengthen his brethren and Companions at the Chain, by his Exhortations and Consolations. Therefore care was taken to observe him most exactly; and to take all the means from him of holding correspondence with his friends.

Having been some time on board the 'Grande Réale' and 'Magnifique' Galleys; where he was sent, by the dividant [*distribution*] that is made every year of the Galley Slaves: he was shut up, about the month of February, in Fort Saint Jean, which is at the entrance of the harbour of Marseilles, in a Dungeon, that had formerly served for a Stable; the windows whereof were so close[ly] shut up, that there was but little light in it.

He was exposed there, to a mournful Solitude; and to a great number of hardships and rigours. And though he paid a considerable Pension, besides the Five Sols [= 4d.] that the King allows the Prisoners that are there; yet he was sufficiently abused [*defrauded*] in his provision and his drink: for everybody is sensible that it is not good to be in the hands of a covetous and inhuman Gaoler.

He was not suffered to have any fire in the severest season of the Winter, to go out to take the air [*for exercise*], nor to write to his relations, nor to have any conversation with the living: as he notes in a Letter which he writ to one of his friends. But, in spite of the vigilance wherewith he was kept, his brethren of the Galleys had found the

means to communicate with him, by writing: which they did for some years.

In the year 1696, a Serjeant (that delivered the Letters; and who was well paid for it) was discovered; and was condemned to be hanged for it. He confessed that he had carried Letters from one part to another; but that he believed he had done a good work for that solitary person; knowing, for a certainty, that there was no harm in those Letters—that solitary person, nor those whom he corresponded with, not being in a condition to do any harm.

After that time, the door of Monsieur LE FEVRE's Dungeon was guarded in sight. The Soldier that stood Sentry before the Gate of the Governor's House, guarded the Dungeon at the same time.

The Serjeant of the Guard, attended by two or three Musketeers, brought him his provisions every day: and when they went the rounds, they always asked him, What he was doing? So much care they took of guarding him.

Notwithstanding all this, his brethren had yet some correspondence with him; according as they found Soldiers fit for it.

But that correspondence was quite broke off, when there was most occasion for it; seeing that it was at the time when our blessed Confessor began to be in Consumption. They could no longer know how he did, but by the Soldiers that brought him his food: who told us, That he was well; seeing that he did eat and drink: as those commonly do that are touched in the lungs.

His distemper increasing daily; he kept his bed altogether in the month of June [1702]; and he had a vomiting and looseness [*diarrhœa*], that quite spent [*exhausted*] him.

He had his perfect senses until the last day: for a Soldier told us, That the evening of the 13th of June, he saw him take some broth: and, in taking it, said, with a settled mind and submission to the will of GOD, that he should not live that night over. Which was true. For, the Gaoler's daughter, carrying some wine to him about eleven a clock in the night, found him dead.

Monsieur the Commander told the person that came

The Governor wondered he had lived so long. 1702.

to give him a visit, That he died at four of the clock in the morning: but two Soldiers told us, That they were not yet laid to sleep; when the Gaoler's daughter came and told them, that she found him dead. But what signifies the hour! It is certain that it was in the night, between the 13th and 14th of June 1702.

That Soldier, having one of our Letters for him, with another from a charitable Pastor that was his relation; he said, He was too weak to read them; that he should carry them back again, and return them to the party from whom he received them: not being willing they should find those Writings after his death. A sign of his usual prudence and wisdom.

The Commander had ordered the Gaoler to leave a man with him in his Dungeon, to assist him that night; seeing he drew to an end: but the Gaoler did not do it.

He was wrapped in a winding sheet; and put into a coffin.

Orders were sent on board the Galley, to send four Turks to bury him: but four of our brethren obtained leave to go, in their stead; to do their last duty to that faithful Martyr of JESUS. He was buried in a corner of that Fort, near the Ditch.

The Governor, seeing him dead, said aloud, 'It is wonderful that this man could live so long in a penance of Sixteen Years and Two Months that he had been in this Prison.'

The Gentleman, and the other Commander before him, have often been with the Jesuits, Missionaries, etc., to tempt our Martyr: but he gave them always a reason for his Faith, with so much constancy, piety, zeal, meekness, and humility, that they went away quite confounded, in admiring his Patience and his Virtue.

It is [a] great pity that we could not collect his last words: but GOD did not suffer it, for reasons he has in his profound wisdom.

He did not continue idle in his Solitude. He read or writ [*wrote*] continually. He had made a Translation of the Psalms; and [had] turned the book of 'The Imitation of JESUS CHRIST,' that the Almoner sent him, into French Verses. Divers Books and Papers were found with him;

1687-1702. They always found Le Fevre joyful and contented.

which the Almoner took: and it is not likely that he will part with them.

About eighteen months past [? December 1700], that faithful Servant of JESUS CHRIST, having a mind to obtain some victory over himself, desired us to pray to GOD for him, in an extraordinary manner: and, to join our prayers with his, he appointed us the hour of Nine in the evening, when we should hear the Gun Fire that was done every day, for to retire; when it is most quiet, having [*there being*] no labour to do on board the Gallies, and most of the Slaves being laid down. GOD heard him: but he did not tell us in what it consisted.

Every line of the Letters that came from that faithful person's hand shewed his piety, his devotion, his capacity, and the charity he had for all his fellow Sufferers.

The Gaoler, the Soldiers, and all those that saw him in his Dungeon, cannot say otherwise of him, if they would testify the truth; but that he was very virtuous.

When we asked the Soldiers concerning him; they said, 'He was a Saint!': not knowing how to express themselves [in] other ways. He was not a Saint, as their ignorance commonly understands of others, a minute [*trifling, petty*] or fabulous Miracle Saint: but he was a man, in whom they might have seen a great miracle; if they had given attention to him, as they ought to have done. For it is no small matter, that a person, of such a weak and delicate constitution, should remain, so many years, in such a captivity as our Martyr was [in]: [and yet] that they always found him joyful and contented in it: [so] that he triumphed there, over what the World has of Sweets and Rigours; and triumphed there, over himself also! I say, It is no small thing! It is an advantage that GOD does not grant everybody! Happy are they, in whom the Lord works those Wonders of Grace and Mercy!

GOD grant that, by the example of that good Servant of GOD, we may persevere in the Fidelity which we owe him, to the end of our days! that we may live the life of Saints, and die the death of the Righteous! and enter into the rest of the Ever Blessed!

‘God grant we may persevere in our Fidelity to him!’

The brethren, that sign here for Witnesses of the truth of the above mentioned, recommend themselves and their fellow Sufferers to your prayers!

Signed.

Marseilles,
the 21st of August 1702.

T H E E N D.

The Preface

to the

Second English Translation (1707)

of

Jean Claude's

*Les Plaintes des Protestants
cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume
de France. (1686)*

By

Hilary Renew.

The Preface.

THIS BOOK WAS first published in French in the year 1686: and then translated into English; a copy whereof a Merchant of London sent to one of his brothers in France.

He, some time after, acquainted him, That, upon the instances of [PAUL BARILLON,] the French Ambassador at this Court, the same had been ordered to be burnt; and the Translator and Printer thereof almost ruined by imprisonments and fines: and that the Papists took a great deal of care to suppress all the copies; lest the Nation should be made acquainted with the truths contained therein, where the Cruelties exercised against the Protestants of France, who would not abjure their Religion and embrace the Romish, are so truly represented.

It was at the same time that Preparations were making, in order to put the same Methods in practice against the Protestants of England: where the Pope kept openly a Nuncio; besides several Monks and Jesuits.

There were also several Writers, as Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE and others, employed and well paid to assert, That there was no Persecution in France; but, contrariwise, Voluntary Conversions to the Romish Religion: and that, as to the great number of people who left their country to come over into this, under pretence of Religion; they did it only for private ends and self interest.

But these Impostures were soon borne down by the sight of so many poor wretches, that thronged hither for refuge from those dreadful Calamities which were inflicted on them: the consideration of which made the Nation seriously think of securing the Protestant Religion; which its enemies designed to destroy here, as they had done in France and elsewhere.

Some years after, the Gentleman, who received this book in English, came over to augment the number of the Refugees in this Kingdom: and enquiring after it, it was

impossible for him to light on any other Copy here.

But having been told since, that the anonymous Author was that excellent Man of GOD, the late Monsieur CLAUDE, Minister at Paris, who died in Holland soon after he had written this book; by this means, he got one in French: and, very lately, by the care of a Reverend Doctor Divine, another in English, perhaps the MANNINGHAM. only one extant.*

Which, being compared together, it appears that the Translator, for some regard he had to those Times, when the Enemies of our holy Religion were in great credit, did designedly omit several Matters of Fact, and them the most important to the Causes of the Refugees: insomuch that above the Fourth Part of it was cut off in the Translation; though the Translator fared ne'er the better for it.

Seeing then, the great efforts made to suppress this Book; it the rather deserves to be preserved among Protestants to all Posterity. And forasmuch as the Refugees in this Kingdom durst not, by reason of the strict Prohibition, keep any of them; it is thought [to be] of the utmost importance to revive it again, especially at this juncture, which seems so much more favourable than the former; and to offer it entire, as if it were a new Work, to the nation, according to the Refugees' first intent: in which view, it is now reprinted in both languages, for the convenience of those that understand but one.

The public will see that this book is an Abridgement of the cruel and inhuman Persecution exercised against the Protestants in France, for several years together, to the prejudice of the Edict of Nantes; and its dismal consequences, to the beginning of the year 1686.

It is likewise a solemn Protestation of above 150,000 Refugees in several Protestant States; who (both for themselves, and their brethren that could not escape the hands of the Dragoons) do call to Heaven and Earth, for Vengeance of the Outrages done to them, or their relations; as also for the Cruelties still exercised against those that have the misfortune to be yet kept in Prisons, Dungeons, Convents, or Gallies, for the sake of their Religion, to the prejudice of Natural Rights, Treaties, Public Faith, Edicts, Promises, and Oaths.

* This is a mistake.—E. A.

1707. £200,000 paid to transport the Refugees to England.

It is to be hoped [that] there are other Writers since Monsieur CLAUDE, who will have gathered together the further Transactions relating to this subject; in order to transmit the memory thereof to Posterity: in spite of the disguises and lies the Authors of those Evils and Malicious Reports have spread abroad; by means of the Declarations and Subscriptions which they have forced from those they persecuted, obliging them to say, That their pretended Abjurations were voluntary.

But these foul Imputations, so well known to the Refugees in this country, oblige them to challenge them as false: and to put this Question to their Enemies, To what purpose, were things as you say, are the Passages [*Ports, Outlets,*] by sea and land, shut up, and guarded with so much cost and precaution; even against those that have given you such Declarations?

Why are so many thousands of both sexes come into this country?

It is well known, they will return this Answer, That the loss of those people is but inconsiderable to France; since they are only the poorer and meaner sort that go away: for the rich are so narrowly watched, that they cannot escape.

But this is another notorious falsehood. For, on the contrary, there are, in general, only those who had money or credit, that could be at the vast expenses necessary for their escape: which has been computed to amount to, at least, £200,000 sterling in specie, paid to the Masters of English ships, merely for the passage of those that came over into this country.

And as to Quality (without undervaluing, in the least, any of those that fled into other countries), there are come hither, a Duke and Marshal of France, some Generals of Armies, a Duchess, several Counts and Countesses, Marquises and Marchionesses, Judges of Sovereign Courts, Viscounts, Barons, Noblemen and Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, Men of Learning, Lawyers, Physicians, substantial Merchants, Tradesmen [*Artizans*] of all sorts; and many Captains, Masters, Mariners, Gardeners, and Husbandmen: besides the great number of Ministers; who were banished that Kingdom; with orders to depart forthwith, upon pain of the Gallies.

These are the persons who are said to be but of little

The hazards, shipwrecks, and dangers, of the Refugees. 1707.

consequence: whilst their Enemies do say, in other places, That the loss is irreparable.

Now it is plain, on the one hand, that the love of one's country, estate [*property*], settlement, relations, friends; plenty of wine; and other enjoyments of this life; are very strong ties: from whence it must be confessed, on the other hand, that there must be some stronger motives, to induce such multitudes to forsake all the afore-mentioned advantages, and [to] seek an asylum in foreign countries and unknown languages; against [*in consequence of*] the Persecution of an ungrateful country, where one is not allowed to worship GOD according to one's Conscience; as the Author of this book has manifestly evidenced.

This is, nevertheless, the dismal lot of the Refugees: and were this a proper place to speak of the hazards, shipwrecks, and dangers, which so many thousands have been exposed to; and how many have perished before they arrived in this free country; no doubt but the Reader would pass a charitable judgement upon those that are come over. But this would require a Volume by itself.

However, to hear the Emissaries of Rome, who do not stick impudently to affirm it, one would think that there had never been any Persecution in France; or, at least, if there had [been], that it has ceased: 'seeing', they say, 'that there are now no Protestants left'; which they endeavour the more to insinuate, in this time of war [1707], when all correspondence is cut entirely off.

It is, therefore, the duty of those that are here, to refute that falsehood; by asserting real and sensible Matters of Fact: such as may convince the World, and Great Britain in particular, that, since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Reformed of France have *continually* been persecuted.

For, not to speak of the slaughters committed in the Cevennes, nor of what has passed elsewhere; but only of certain Matters of Fact, which have happened since the death [in 1686] of the Author of this book, as may be proved by persons living here: and transacted in a little district of the Parliament of Guienne, reputed to be one of the most indulgent of that Kingdom in point of Religion; by reason of the trade of that country with the northern Protestants,

one may thereby judge, Whether there is still such a thing as a Persecution in France?

To which end, the Papists in this Kingdom are desired to address themselves to MARTHA GUIARD, living in Frith street, Soho. She will tell them, That she came out of France, because JEAN GUIARD, her father, was burnt at Nerac; being accused of having irreverently received the Host.

Let them speak to Mrs. TINEL, Wife to a French Minister at Bristol, and to his Sister-in-law. They will tell them, That the Sieur MARGUERON, their father, was hanged at Sainte Foy; for having held a religious Assembly in his house. His estate [*property*] was confiscated; and the house pulled down. Their mother [was] condemned to make [the] 'Amende Honorable,' her head shaved by the Hangman, bare-footed and in her shift, holding in her hand a lighted torch; and afterwards [was condemned] to a perpetual Imprisonment. And that they escaped the like severities, by their flight into this Kingdom; with their brother, since killed in our Army.

The History of his edifying death is to be sold at the Widow BALDWIN's in Warwick lane.

Let them ask of the Sieur PEYFERIÉ and his family, What made them abandon a great estate, to be reduced to great straits in Tower street, Soho? He will answer, That, being accused, with some neighbours of his, of having exercised his Religion [*had Divine Service*] in his country house; he was condemned to be hanged: and his house demolished, and his woods destroyed. But GOD, of his mercy, delivered him from that danger.

Let them inquire of Mistress CHARLOTTE [DE LA RAMIÈRE] and Mistress MARY [DE LA RAMIÈRE], daughters of the Sieur DE LA RAMIÈRE, who died in the Service of England? They will tell them, That his castle was pulled down, and his woods destroyed; for having held there a religious Assembly.

The Sieurs DUPRÉ, and MOÏSE DU BOUST, now living in the parish of Saint Giles in the Fields, will testify, That they were persecuted in their persons and their estates, [and] their houses demolished; before they fled into this country: where they are necessitated to live upon the charity of the nation; the one being eighty years old, and the other grown 'Invalid' in our Army.

MARTHA TRAPEAU and MARY LABÉ, living in Soho, will answer, That, being sick, they received a visit from the Priest and Magistrate; to whom they declared, That, notwithstanding they had, through their Persecutions, been forced to abjure their Religion; they were resolved, however, to die in it! But, been recovered; they were condemned to make [the] 'Amende Honorable'; and to be perpetually confined in the Manufacture [?] of Bordeaux: from whence they made their escape, to the great danger of their lives.

It is in the same Place of Torment, that OLYMPE PASSELAIGUE, of Bergerac; JOAN DORRAT and JOAN, her sister, of Faugueroles; JOAN GROUX; JUDITH CHABOT; CATHERINE MULH; the two Mrs. GORINX; MARTHA COVE; and others now here, to the number of Eighteen, were confined, for endeavouring to fly from the Persecution (having had the misfortune to be taken, going out of France): from whence they, afterwards, made their escape in the night, through the windows.

As for the men, if any of them are surprised, making their escape; it is [the] 'Amende Honorable' and the Galleys: and the Sieurs CONSTANS and BESSETE, of Duras, have undergone that punishment, for assisting in the Assembly with the Sieur MARGUERON; and do there [still] keep company with a great many others, that suffer Persecution for the cause of Religion.

The Sieur AUGIER, of Casteljaloux, who died in the Fortress of Blaye, is also an example of the rigour exercised by the Persecutors.

To shew how they still deal in France with the Protestants; here is an undeniable Matter of Fact.

MARY PERREAU, living in Spittlefields, will tell you, That she was married, at Plymouth, to PIERRE PERREAU, a French Pilot; who, a month after their marriage, being sailed for the Straits [of Gibraltar], was taken, and carried into France: where he was condemned to the Galleys for 101 years.

Since then, as it is Death, or the Galleys, for the Men who refuse to change their Religion, or are found making their escape: so it is 'Amende Honorable' and Perpetual

1707. The failure of the Clergy to destroy Protestantism.

Imprisonment for the Women ; where a great number have died, and, among others, the illustrious Wife of the holy Martyr, the Sieur MARGUERON ; and, lately, the Confessors, Madame LA SERRE and Madame GENTILLOT.

The Prisons continue still [to be] filled with Women : some of whom have been above Twenty years in the Town House [*Hotel de Ville*] of Bordeaux, glorifying GOD by their Sufferings. And, amongst others, Madame VILLOTES, a gentlewoman of eighty years of age, who has a daughter living in Soho ; CLAUDINE LE MAY, and JOAN [LE MAY] her daughter ; Madame BARBOT ; Madame CHARLEMONT ; and a great many more : [who] do sufficiently testify, that, were it not for the Persecution, so many persons would hardly be kept in Prison.

These are Living Witnesses, for such as desire to be further satisfied of the Truth ; and this small number, which might be infinitely increased, it is hoped will suffice, both to manifest the Truth, and to confute the malice of those who are endeavouring to subvert it, by their false slanders against the Refugees.

As, for instance, they gave out sometime since, That all the Protestants of France went to Mass ; and were really converted to the Romish Religion—than which, nothing is more notoriously false.

For proof whereof, one need only observe, That the present War [1707] having necessitated the raising of [the] Militia in France, Personal Taxes have been laid on the Protestants who refuse to go to Mass ; which serves as a Fund for the payment of the said Militia. So that the Clergy of France, who had promised the French King to extirpate the Protestant Religion and to make the Romish triumph, have done quite the contrary. For let them banish the Ministers, prohibit the Assemblies, exile them, and inflict even death itself ; if they please ! This doth not destroy Religion ; but only, as it were, cuts off those rivulets, whose springs remain. For they cannot banish the Light of the Reformed ; nor hinder the Consolation of the HOLY GHOST !

But say they, The Persecutors do not *now* use Rigours. They will instruct the Reformed by degrees : who, being once well instructed, will have no repugnance to remain in the Romish Church.

This is a great mistake. The Reformed are not desirous of Instructions from *such* Masters!

Let them be told, never so often, That their Ministers have misrepresented the Romish Religion; and that they are to hearken to their Converters, who will give them a right information of it. To this, they will readily answer, We are not so to be instructed by *you*! For the Edicts and Declarations, you have obtained from the King against us; our Ministers banished, at your solicitations; our brethren condemned to the Gallies, or to Death, by your Prosecutions; the Cruelties exercised against us, by the Dragoons; all your Treacheries, Injustices, and Cruelties: do sufficiently shew us, what your Religion and Faith is; and plainly convince us, That it is not from GOD; what Profession soever you pretend to make of Christianity.

Let this suffice to be said in justification of the Protestants that still remain in France, under the longest and sharpest Persecution that ever was heard of; and in which Fraud and Imposture are countenanced by Force. And this is the reason, [why] the Matters of Fact, here mentioned, have been produced, from one little part of the Kingdom only: because they may so easily be proved here, *viva voce*. And, then, let anyone judge what is transacted in other places; where the Protestants are used with greater severity! And, by the way, one may here see the Causes and Motives of the depopulating of France; and the Reasons why so many thousands fled into Protestant countries, to shelter themselves from the injuries their brethren are still exposed to.

Having now represented the several Qualities [*social positions*] of the French Refugees in this Kingdom; who must not be supposed to be of higher rank than those that have taken sanctuary in other countries: it may be confidently affirmed, That such an increase of people is an advantageous acquisition to this Kingdom.

For they were not all poor, as is well known at the Exchequer and Royal Exchange. Especially, if we give any credit to the computation, that has been made in France, of what they brought over; and of the loss that Kingdom has thereby sustained.

It is confidently reported there, that (some time before

the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and during the great Persecution) many Protestants, foreseeing the misfortunes likely to befall them, sent away a great part of their estates [*property*] out of France. Insomuch that it is computed, the Refugees, one with another, (either in money, goods, jewels, or other moveables) have brought over, at least the value of One Hundred Pounds sterling [each]: whereby that nation is so much impoverished in its funds; which it has so very much wanted since. To this they add, That, of the necessary computation, it is reckoned at Seven Pounds *per head, per annum*: and therefore, by the Rule of Contraries, that country whither they have transplanted themselves, is by so much the gainer.

However, it is hoped none will be so uncharitable as to doubt that, out of gratitude as well as affection, the Refugees are entirely devoted to a nation that has received them with so much humanity. This will appear, if it be considered how great a share they had in the Reduction of Ireland: where upwards of Seven Thousand of them perished, either by Sword or Sickness; which must otherwise have fallen upon the English.

Some of the Refugees have endeavoured to subsist, both by Liberal and Mechanic Arts, and Husbandry: but, above all, by their mutual Trade and Correspondence with their acquaintance and friends that have settled in other countries, as Switzerland, Geneva, Germany, Holland, and the Northern Crowns [*Scandinavia*]. Which has much increased all the revenues of this Kingdom; and given a greater blow to France than Six Civil Wars could other ways have done: and, at the same time, has procured to this Kingdom in particular, a real and lasting advantage. As the House of Lords were pleased to take notice, in a Conference with the Commons about the Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity, in the words following:

As to the Foreign Protestants, there is great reason to give them all just encouragement. Page 24.

For as they have brought among us Printed in
many New Manufactures; so they have February 1703.

carried them so far, that, of late years, we have exported to the value of a Million of Woollen Manufactures more than was done in King CHARLES's reign, before they

came among us : and the putting them under apprehensions or discouragements, may be a means to drive them to a country, where they are sure of an entire Liberty.

The Lords add,

We have felt the happy effects of the Liberty granted them in the last reign : and it is to be hoped, that nothing will be done in this, to impeach that ; or to raise apprehensions and fears in the minds of men, that are so useful to us in the important Article of our Trade.

The opinion of that noble House, who have thus eminently stood up for the Refugees, ought, one would think, to have silenced that multitude of malicious Libels that are daily published against them : whose Authors have so little modesty as to affirm, That the French are come over, for want of means of subsistence ; and not out of zeal for Religion. Which calumny the English Tradesmen [*Artizans*] magnify exceedingly ; because, they say, That the French Refugees work cheaper than they do.

Now, supposing that were true ; it can be no damage, in the least, even to them that complain. For if a Shoemaker, for example, gets threepence or fourpence less, in a pair of Shoes : he, on the other hand, will save that, in his Gloves, and much more in his Hat ; which, by the same reason, will be rendered as cheap in proportion, and so of all other things.

But if anyone would contest this matter farther ; we shall leave their justification to the landlords of those houses that have been built since their coming over ; the rents of which, by a modest computation, cannot amount to less than £80,000 yearly : and they, without doubt, will affirm that their Refugee tenants are no ways prejudicial to the nation. For those of them that subsist of themselves, relieve, to the utmost of their power, such of their brethren as are necessitous ; and readily pay both parish and national taxes.

They have most of them been naturalized, though at their own proper charges ; and pay the rent of their Churches, and the Salaries of their Ministers, Readers, and Schoolmasters : whereas, in other countries, especially in Holland, the Refugees are naturalized gratis ; they have the freedom of keeping shops and exercising their respective Callings ; and have been supplied with above a hundred

1707. The States General's great kindness to the Refugees.

Churches, either in the United Provinces or in Germany, at the charge of the States General: who (very far from suffering them to pay the Ministers of the country where they reside) do themselves pay the stipends of the Refugee Ministers, Readers, and Schoolmasters; which are very considerable.

But what is yet more to their advantage is, That, since the Persecution, which hath lasted now above Twenty-one years [1685-1706.], most of which time, the States General have, in conjunction with this Kingdom, been engaged in an expensive War against France, not one Refugee in Holland has ever paid one farthing for his personal estate [*property*], or Stock in Trade.

One might enlarge very much on this subject; were it not feared that the Libellers would insinuate from hence, as though the Refugees complained: whereas they are so far from it, that it is unwillingly they are forced to instance these things, to defend themselves against those that endeavour to asperse them with the taking away the bread out of [the] Englishmen's mouths; in order to render them odious to the common people.

It is also in that view alone, the Refugees allege the advantageous settlement of their brethren in Brandenburg; the History whereof has been printed at Berlin by ROBERT ROGER in 1690: which shews that they believe in that country that the Refugees are a very great benefit to them; seeing His Prussian Majesty is not content only to favour them in his own dominions, but likewise causes his Ambassadors in other Protestant Courts, to make Collects [*Collections*] in the behalf of all such Protestants as take refuge in his countries.

Her Majesty's
Brief for the
Protestants of the
Principality of
Orange, owned
Subjects of His
Prussian Majesty.
Dated the 17th
November 1703.

If therefore all Politicians agree, That multitudes of people make the glory of Kings, and the riches of a country; why are then so many Libels suffered here to be published, in opposition to those General Maxims? The Refugees think them under an obligation to declare it; and [to] let the public know, That this Evil proceeds from the Enemies of their Religion: some unquestionable Proofs whereof shall be brought hereafter.

But first it is proper to give an Account of a very

remarkable thing that happened in the year 1664.

Some Popish villages, of the district of Lalew in the Low Countries, (corresponding with Amsterdam; and coming accidentally by some Books of Controversy) were soon persuaded of the falsehood of the Popish Religion; and thereupon forsook it: which the Curates perceiving, [they] made their complaint to the Bishop, and the Bishop to the French King.

After several Citations, Sentence was pronounced, That they should either go to Mass, or leave the country. Those pious Christians rather chose the latter. At which, King CHARLES II. was pleased to order Deputies to be sent thither, to invite them over into England; and to make them very advantageous offers, besides defraying their charges.

But the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the States of Holland, and the Electors Palatine [and of] Saxony, and Brandenburg, having, at the same time, sent their Deputies: [and] the conditions offered on the part of the Elector Palatine being more advantageous than the others; they settled in his country, to the number of 1,800 men, women and children, Tradesmen [Artizans] and Husbandmen.

But, by reason of the late wars in the Palatinate, and the destruction of Billingham, they were obliged to leave that country and settle in Pomerania: where they now are.

This may serve to confute the unthinking Libellers. For no sufficient reason can be given, why such numbers of Protestants, as come over of themselves, should be less esteemed than those who are invited by great offers. For they, as well as these, increase the consumption of our manufactures and products; especially that of corn, and thereby save the Five Shillings per Quarter on what they consume, which would otherwise be paid on exportation.

Add to this, the sentiments of Sir THOMAS CULPEPER in his Political Treatise, Sir WILLIAM PETTY in his 'Political Arithmetic,' Sir JOSIAH CHILD in his 'New Discourse of Trade,' and Sir FRANCIS BREWSTER in his 'Essays on Trade': wherein it is manifest, all their efforts chiefly aim at inculcating the absolute necessity of an Increase of People, which, they say, is the Source of Riches; and confess

1707. The great number of sick, maimed, and poor, Refugees.

that this nation, being under-peopled, stands in need of being recruited.

It has been already said, That the Refugees, to testify their acknowledgements, have readily exposed themselves to the perils of war; and that, in the Reduction of Ireland, above Seven Thousand of them perished. Which must, once more, be repeated, because it is the sad Spring from whence proceeds the great number of sick and maimed persons; Widows and Orphans, that have lost their husbands, fathers, brothers, and other relations, who, during their lives, supplied their wants: besides several old Gentlemen, old Ministers and their Wives; who, in process of time, being grown weak and out of employment, after having spent all they had saved out of France, are reduced to the necessity of begging the public charity of the nation.

And because it is these, that are most exposed to the continual machinations of their Enemies, let this Preface inform the Reader of what, perhaps, he may be unacquainted with; which is, The manner of their subsistence: since a more favourable opportunity will hardly ever offer itself, than the present publication of their Complaints against their countrymen.

And to this purpose, it is necessary to remind him of what passed in the Sessions of Parliament, 1695: when these poor people presented a Petition to the House of Commons. Whereupon a Committee was appointed: in which (upon the examination of their several Qualities, Ages, and Callings) it was found that the number of old Gentlemen and Ministers, their Wives, Children, Widows, and Orphans, was then 2,460 persons, worthy of the public charity of the nation. As appears by the Committee's Report to the House, containing the Declarations of King CHARLES II. of the 28th of July 1681, and of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY of the 25th of April 1689, mentioned in the said Report, importing,

That the French Protestants having been invited, with great Promises of Assistance, to come hither; it were a great scandal to the Government and Religion, if they were not speedily relieved; and that it would be strange if this nation should suffer itself to be outdone by their neighbours in so excellent a work, seeing that what charity soever is bestowed upon them (besides the blessing

£15,000 a year granted to the Refugees in 1695. 1707.

that redounds from it) the nation is never the poorer; since it receives it back by consumption as fast as it is given.

In consideration of which Report, the House of Commons voted £15,000 sterling *per annum* for the subsistence of those poor Refugees.

But £3,000 being appointed for the Ministers, out of the said sum; there remained but £12,000 for the Laity, both here and in Ireland: which, being then paid in Remote Tallies and Malt Tickets, and the same being ordered to be sold by the Lords appointed for regulating the manner of distributing the charity of the nation, there was, in 1696, 1697, and 1698, lost by them £6,559 9s. 10d. [annually]; which deprived the poor of Seven Months' subsistence. During which time, they were obliged to borrow what they could, without having any prospect of repaying the same, unless the Deficiency on the Tallies should be made good: which, as it was never done, has increased their number. This is the account of what passed in Parliament.

One might add to the misfortune of that Deficiency, a yet heavier loss for the poor French Refugees: which is, That they did not receive the charity of the nation, the year King WILLIAM died; which was then due, and never paid. The Warrant for which is yet unsatisfied.

Which losses inevitably obliged them to contract debts for their daily sustenance; so, being wholly unable to satisfy their creditors, many of whom have acted rigorously [to them], to the utter ruin of such as were left destitute by these unexpected Deficiencies: which, together with the continuation of the war and the calamities that attend it, have so increased their misery, that, by a List newly published by order of His Grace [THOMAS TENISON,] the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and [HENRY COMPTON,] the Lord Bishop of LONDON, containing the Quality, Age, Sex, and Habitation, of every one, it appears that, from the year 1696 and the Report then made to this present time, they are increased to more than double the number: and, that for some years, the £12,000 has not been sufficient to pay the rent of their lodgings. And, besides, most of them being old and sick; let anyone imagine the straits these poor people are reduced to, which is not fit to be published:

1707. The kindness of Secretary Harley to the Refugees.

and what assistance can they expect from the other Refugees; who, according to the Enemies' computation, have so little for themselves as will hardly suffice to maintain them[selves].

So that, unless some more effectual means be found out for their support; their numbers without a miracle must daily increase: for, humanly speaking, though the Refugees should exceed the Macedonians in charity to one another [2 Cor. viii. 2, 3.], nothing is to be expected, but an addition of misery.

But there is reason to expect better things from this charitable nation; when, with their wonted compassion, they will be pleased to take notice of the great occasion there is, for exercising their clemency towards such a number of miserable objects: it being to be hoped there are many who will follow the example of the Right Honourable Master Secretary [ROBERT] HARLEY [, afterwards Earl of OXFORD]; whose kindnesses and charitable offices, proceeding from mere motives of Religion and Humanity, towards these poor Sufferers, they have often felt the good effects of; as well as of so many other worthy Members of Parliament, who know, That giving to the poor is lending to the Lord. [Prov. xix. 17.]

It has been already observed, That the Enemies of the Reformed Religion are those Libellers who are always endeavouring to propagate that of Rome: and strive to render the condition of the French Protestants bitter and grievous.

They have Emissaries who make it their business to descend from the general, even to the particular persons of the poor; whom they attack with grievous calumnies: reproaching them, with having left their Wooden Shoes, and the Garlic and Onions they lived upon, to come hither, to live at ease; and [to] rob Greenwich Hospital, and the Widows and Orphans of the nation, of the Charities which they so much better deserve; and are now bereft of, by their being bestowed upon such unworthy people.

Thus they endeavour to deprive them of all manner of comfort, that they may be obliged to return to France: whilst, on the other hand, they make the Ways and Means of repairing thither, so very easy to such as are willing to go.

Several instances of such Intrigues might be brought,

whereby they have enticed away many children : who, in France, are put into possession of the whole estate of the Family ; provided they abjure their Religion.

Those Emissaries of Rome pretend to do those Evils, that Good may come of it : but that is to accumulate Crime upon Crime !

One of their creatures had the confidence to present a Petition to Her Majesty [, Queen ANNE], and to his Grace [, THOMAS TENISON,] the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and [, HENRY COMPTON,] the Lord Bishop of LONDON, importing that the French Committee, appointed by the Lords Commissioners for distributing the public charity, were false to their trust : beseeching Her Majesty to give him leave to secure their persons ; and that, in the meantime, the charity of the nation should be suspended.

Upon this and such like representations ; Her Majesty was pleased to order Sir OWEN BUCKINGHAM, the then Lord Mayor, to summon the English Committee to examine the matter, and make their Report.

The person, thereupon appearing before them, could not make out the least appearance of Misdemeanour in the French Report made the 26 July 1705. Committee : and (finding that the Report would not be in his favour ; and that Her Majesty had ordered the Attorney General to prosecute him) he made his escape beyond the sea. Since which, it has been discovered [that] he was a Papist in disguise, that [had] fled from Piedmont, for having killed a Priest ; and his Wife has confessed that he was to receive a reward, could he have compassed the design of annulling the French Committee : which consists of persons beyond all suspicion, who give an exact Account of their Administration to the English Commissioners ; who, both the one and the other, employ their time, care, and pains, for no other principle than their duty to GOD, and charity to their poor brethren.

Yet such Representations, false as they are, (having passed for current ; without any defence for afflicted Innocence) have proved of dangerous consequence. For it hath been observed, for some years past, that the charitable example of several worthy Christians, who have formerly left Gifts and Legacies at their death, is very little followed at this time ; when there is so great an occasion for it.

1707. A Penny a year asked from each English Subject.

The disuse of which laudable custom is, in a great measure, attributed to the subtle and crafty insinuations of the Emissaries of France and Rome; who leave no means unattempted for the destruction of the Refugees: whilst the Popish tenet of the Merit of Good Works, by the Pope's Indulgences and the Priests' Exhortations, is an almost incredible support to the necessitous English and Irish in France.

To sum up all. From what has been said, it is to be hoped no one will suffer himself any longer to be prejudiced against the poor Refugees; but that all will submit to the favourable Declarations of those august Bodies, the Houses of Lords and Commons: that so the great number of poor members of JESUS CHRIST who have escaped the Persecution, and now implore the charity of the nation in a manner proportionable to their wants, should live comfortably, and die in peace.

Which might be effected, could it be contrived that each of Her Majesty's Subjects in England should give but a Penny every year towards their relief; and that would suffice them: which would not in the least be felt; if it be considered that it would all be spent here. Besides, as most of them are old and sickly, Death, humanly speaking, will, in a very little time, rid the nation of them: and the younger, who do not remember France but with sentiments of resentment, are [being] daily blended among the English. Insomuch that if, after the present War [1702—1713] is ended, there should be a liberty of returning, there are few [that] will go back, but those that now seem chargeable to the nation, and have left great estates there.

But their number will be compensated doubly, by the parents and friends of those that remain; who will be induced to come hither: where [they] (joining with those whose abilities and talents permit them to enjoy the happiness and liberty they find under the reign of Her Most Sacred Majesty) will altogether esteem it their glory and felicity to live here; and to be faithful and zealous Subjects of the country that has been their Sanctuary; and thereby increase the power, and glory, and riches, thereof.



An Account
of the
Torments which the French
Protestants endure aboard the Gallies.

By
Jean [Francois] Bion,
Sometime Priest and Curate of the Parish of Urcy in
the Province of Burgundy ; and Chaplain to the
' Superbe ' Galley in the French Service.

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1708.



To the Queen.

MADAM,

May it please your Majesty!

IN GRATITUDE TO those wretches, whose heroic Constancy raised in me that admiration, which was the first cause of my happy Conversion; I humbly lay at your Majesty's feet, an Account of their Sufferings.

Their only hopes, under GOD, are in your Majesty! the glorious defender and ornament of their Faith. The Charity by which you support such numbers of their brethren in your dominions, the concern you have expressed for the pressures the French Churches labour under, and the zeal for their restoration to their Ancient Splendour; leave no room to doubt of your Majesty's generous intentions. And that Providence, which watches over your Sacred Person, and distinguishes your reign by so many Exploits, both at home and abroad, from those of your most glorious Ancestors, will, no doubt, reward your piety; and enable your Majesty to ease them of their chains: after having broken those of Europe.

They would not thus presume to make their way through the crowd of your admirers; and disturb the acclamation that surrounds your August Person, with the doleful rehearsal of their misery: did not your Majesty's known goodness facilitate their access; and your love of Justice, and proneness to redress grievances, encourage their presumption.

I am, in particular, happy in being so far instrumental in their future deliverance, as to make their Case known to the best and greatest of Queens: and I am proud that it furnishes me with an opportunity of letting the World know that I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful Subject,
and obedient humble Servant,

JOHN BION,

heretofore Chaplain to the 'Superbe' Galley in the
French King's Service.

The Preface.

AS I PURPOSED in this Work, only to make the Sufferings of the Protestants condemned to the Gallies, for the sake of Religion, known to the World: people will be apt to think that, when I speak in general of the different sorts of 'Forcats' or Slaves, which are on them, I go beside the rules I prescribed to myself. But if it be considered that it is no little Torment to the Protestants to be amongst Malefactors and lewd and profligate Villains; whose continual blasphemies and cursings have no parallel, but among the damned in Hell: it will not be thought beside my purpose, to have given to the World a particular Account of the various sorts of those men who live in the Gallies.

There is, besides, a block, those, who never saw the Gallies but in the Port at Marseilles, will infallibly stumble at; if not removed. Which is, that whereas the Galley Slaves are not, during that time, in that wretched condition they are in, whilst at sea, and tugging at the oar. Being allowed to keep shop about the Port; and there to work and sell all manner of commodities. And sometimes having leave to walk in the Town: giving only one penny to the Algousin [*Boatswain's Mate, or Galley Serjeant*]; as much to the Turk, with whom each of them must then be coupled; and five pence to the 'Pertuisenier' or Partizan Bearer, who guards them. There being some besides, that even have their Wives at Marseilles. And all being permitted to hear from their friends; and receive money from their relations. All such comforts and favours, as well as all manner of correspondence with friends, are utterly denied the Protestants.

I have not descended to particulars, in what relateth to the usefulness of Gallies in Sea fights, for the keeping of the Coasts; or convoying of Merchant Sloops, when there is any danger of their being taken, or set upon, by the Brigantines the Duke of Savoy keeps commonly for that

purpose, during the war, in Villa Franca, Saint Hospitio, and Oneglia.

Nor did I take notice in this Work, how the Galleys in an engagement wherein there are Men of War, serve to keep off and sink with their cannon shot out of the Coursier, a Gun so called, the Fire-ships the enemy sendeth to set the ship on fire; and to tow away such as are disabled in the fight.

I might also have observed how, in every Galley, there are five Guns upon the foredeck, *viz.*, four six or eight pounders: and a fifth, called the Coursier [*Chase Gun*], which carrieth a 36-lb. ball.

And herewith, when an enemy's ship is becalmed, a Galley, which with her oars can do what she pleaseth, may attack that ship fore and aft, to avoid her broadsides; and ply her with the Coursier; so that, sometimes, if she happeneth to let [*give*] her a shot which cometh between wind and water, she forceth her to surrender. Which however happeneth seldom enough; for a ship needs but a little wind, to make nothing of overthrowing five or six Gallies.

I did not think fit either to give here, an Account of the numbers of Gallies in France; which are twenty-four at Marseilles, and six upon the Ocean. Not to speak of the six small rooms in every Galley, under the deck; wherein ammunition and provisions are kept, and which they call, the 'Gavon,' the 'Scandelat,' the 'Campaign,' the 'Paillot,' the 'Tavern,' and the 'Fore-room.'

All these particulars would have carried me too far out of my way, and beside my purpose; which is only to give a plain and faithful Account, without amplifying, of the Sufferings of the Protestant Galley Slaves.

If there be anything omitted in this Relation; it will not be found as to any material point. And as my sole aim in it hath been to work a fellow feeling in other men's hearts; I shall not find myself at all disappointed, although their curiosity should not be fully satisfied.

The Lord, in his mercy, pour out his blessings upon this Work! and favourably hear our Prayers and Supplications, which we shall never cease to make unto his Divine Majesty, for the deliverance of our poor distressed brethren.

The Sufferings of the Protestants in the French Gallies.

THE DISMAL ACCOUNTS handed down to us, by Historians, of the Torments inflicted on Christians by the Heathen Emperors, in the first Ages of the Church, might justly be suspected, if the woeful experience of our own, did not put the truth of them out of dispute. For though it be not easy to conceive how men can put off all that is tender and generous in their natures, and degenerate into the ferity [*ferocity*] of brutes; yet it is but looking on the World around us, and being convinced that they can even outdo their fellow-animals in Cruelty to one another. Nay, we may see many professing Christianity, under the specious pretence of zeal for its Interest, commit such Barbarities as exceed, [or] at least equal, the rage of the Persecutors of the Primitive Christians. History abounds in instances that shew the nature of a Spirit of Persecution; and how boundless its rage and fury! But the sad effects it hath, of late years, produced in France, as they are still fresh and but too obvious, are scarcely to be paralleled in any Age or Nation!

All the World knows the Protestants there lived, under the protection of the Edict of Nantes: a Treaty as full and solemn as ever any was! It was at first religiously observed: but, in time, several breaches were made in it. Many of its branches were, by degrees, lopt off: till, at last, under the present King [LOUIS XIV.], at the continual teasing and solicitation of the Jesuits, those restless and busy insects! it was perfidiously broken; or, as they please to term it, repealed.

But Religion and its propagation must be the cloak, under which those crafty Silversmiths intend to play their game. And therefore having first confidently taught, That the King hath a Despotic Power over the Consciences as well as Estates; and consequently his Will to be the Rule

of their Religion; they, by several arts and methods, but chiefly by dreadful punishments, force weak people to play the hypocrites, and embrace a Religion which in their hearts they detest. Such as were too good Christians to prostitute their Consciences to vile worldly interests, are denied the benefit of retiring into foreign countries: and punished, if discovered, often with death; or reserved for more cruel usage, and condemned to spin out their wretched lives in the Galleys.

Of these last I design to give the public an Account, as being of all men the most miserable: the Barbarities committed in those horrid machines exceeding all that can possibly be imagined. The ingenuity of the famous Sicilian Tyrants in inventing torments deserves no longer to be proverbial: being far excelled, in this pernicious art, by the modern Enemies of Religion and Liberty.

I shall endeavour to satisfy the curosity of those who desire to be informed of the treatment the Slaves, and particularly the Protestants, in the Galleys meet with; and to convince such as are loath to harbour any hard thoughts of the French Court: that justifies its proceedings by pretending that what they suffer, is not on the account of Religion; but a just and lawful punishment for Rebellion and Disobedience.

My being, several campaigns [*cruises*], Chaplain aboard one of the Galleys, called, 'La Superbe,' gave me a sufficient opportunity of informing myself of the truth of the following Relation. And I hope my integrity will not be called in question by anybody, that hears, that during my stay in that Service, I never received the least disgust, or met with any disobligation. The Certificates I have from Monsieur DE MONTOLIEU, Chief Flag Officer of the French Galleys, and Monsieur D'AUTIGNY, Captain of the aforesaid Galley, whose Chaplain I was; a reward for my services conferred on me by the French King, in the year 1704, at the recommendation of Monsieur DE PONTCHARTRAIN; several good Offices done me by the General and other Officers who knew me: will, I hope, screen me from the suspicions or calumny of such who, through malice or perhaps Interest, might be inclined to misrepresent me.

Neither shall a blind zeal for the Protestant Religion, which I have lately embraced, hurry me beyond the strict

1708. 'I shall relate nothing but what "my eyes have seen."'

bounds of Truth; or make me represent things in any colours but their own. I should be an unworthy Professor of that holy Religion, if, on any consideration, I should in the least deviate from the strictest truth: to which end, I shall relate nothing by hearsay; but, like the Apostle, confine myself to those things 'my eyes have seen.'

BUT BEFORE I proceed to show the Sufferings and Misery the wretches in the Gallies labour under; I shall give a short description of that Vessel.

A Galley is a long flat one-decked Vessel; though it hath two masts. Yet they generally make use of oars; because they are built so, as not to be able to endure a rough sea, and therefore their sails, for the most part, are useless: unless, in cruising, when they are out of sight of land; for then, for fear of being surprised by ill weather, they make the best of their way.

There are five Slaves to every oar: one of them, a Turk; who, being generally stronger than Christians, is set at the upper end to work it with more strength.

There are, in all, 300 Slaves: and 150 men; either Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or Servants. There is at the Stern of the Galley a Chamber, shaped on the outside like a cradle, belonging to the Captain; and solely his at night or in foul weather: but, in the day-time, common to the Officers and Chaplain. All the rest of the crew (the Under Officers excepted; who retire to other convenient places) are exposed above deck, to the scorching heat of the sun by day, and the damps and inclemencies of the night. There is indeed a kind of a tent suspended by a cable from head to stern that affords some little shelter: but the misfortune is, that this is only when they can best be without it, that is, in fair weather. For, in the least wind or storm, it is taken down; the Galley not being able to endure it, for fear of upsetting.

The two winters (in *anno* 1703, and in 1704) we kept the coasts of Monaco, Nice, and Antibes; those poor creatures, after hard rowing, could not enjoy the usual benefit of the night, which puts an end to the fatigues and labours of the day: but were exposed to the winds, snow, hail, and all other inconveniences of that season. The only comfort they wished for, was the liberty of smoking: but that, on pain of the Bastinado, the usual punishment of the place, is forbidden.

The vessel being but small for the number, the men consequently crowded, the continual sweat that streams down from their bodies whilst rowing, and the scanty allowance of linen; one may easily imagine, breed abundance of vermin. So that, in spite of all the care that can be taken, the Gallies swarm with lice, etc.; which, nestling in the plaits and laps of their clothes, relieve, by night, the Executioners who beat and torment them by day.

Their whole yearly allowance for clothes is two Shirts made of the coarsest canvas, and a little Jerkin of red serge slit on each side up to their arm holes; the sleeves are also open and come not down so low as their elbows. And every three years, a kind of coarse frock, and a little cap to cover their heads; which they are obliged to keep shaved, as a mark of Infamy.

Instead of a bed, they are allowed, sick or well, only a board a foot and a half broad. And those who have the unfortunate honour of lying near the Officers, dare not presume, though tormented with vermin, to stir so much as a hand for their ease: for fear their chains should rattle, and awake any of them; which would draw on them a punishment more severe than the biting of those insects.

It is hard to give an exact description of the pains and labours the Slaves undergo at sea; especially during the long campaign [*cruise*]. The fatigue of tugging at the oar is extraordinary. They must rise to draw their stroke, and fall back again almost on their backs: insomuch that, in all seasons, through the continual and violent motion of their bodies, the sweat trickles down their harassed limbs.

And for fear they should fail, as they often do through faintness, there is a Gang-board, which runs through the middle of the ship, on which are constantly posted three Comites, an Officer somewhat like a Boatswain in Her Majesty's Ships: who, whenever they find, or think, that an oar does not keep touch with the rest, without ever examining whether it proceeds from weakness or laziness, they unmercifully exercise a tough wand on the man they suspect; which, being long, is often felt by two or three of his innocent neighbours; who being naked when they row, each blow imprints evident marks of the inhumanity of the Executioner.

And that which adds to their misery is, That they are

not allowed the least sign of discontent or complaint; that small and last comfort of the miserable! but must on the contrary endeavour with all their might to exert the little vigour that remains; and try, by their submission, to pacify the rage of those relentless Tigers: whose strokes are commonly ushered in, and followed by, a volley of oaths and horrid imprecations.

No sooner are they arrived in any Port; but their work, instead of being at an end, is increased: several laborious things previous to casting anchor being expected from them; which in a Galley is harder than a Ship. And as the Comite's chief skill is seen in dexterously casting anchor, and that they think Blows are the Life and Soul of Work; nothing is heard for some time, but cries and lamentation: and as the poor Slaves' arms are busy in the execution of his commands; his are as briskly exercised in lashing them.

To support their strength under all these hardships during the campaign, every morning, at eight of the clock, they give each man his proportion of biscuit: of which, indeed, they have enough; and pretty good. At ten a Porringer of oil, with peas or beans; often rotten; and commonly musty. I call it, Soup, according to their use: although it be nothing but a little hot water, with about a dozen peas or beans floating on the top. And when, on duty, a Pichone of wine, a measure containing about two-thirds of an English Pint, morning and evening.

When at anchor in any Port, all who have any money are allowed to buy meat: and the Turk that commands the oar, and is not chained, is commonly the person employed for this purpose: as also to see it dressed in the Cook Room. But I have often seen the Captain's Cook, a brutal passionate man, take the poor men's pot, under pretence that it troubled him, and either break [it], or throw it overboard: whilst the poor wretches were fainting for want of that little refreshment; without daring so much as to murmur or complain. This indeed is not usual, but where the Cook happens to be a villain: of which sort of men there are plenty in the Gallies.

The Officer's table is well furnished, both for plenty and delicacy: but this gives Slaves only a more exquisite sense

1703-07. The life on board a Galley, while in harbour.

of their misery; and seems to brave their poverty and hunger.

We spent the Carnival of 1704 in the Port of Monaco. Our Officers frequently treated the Prince of that place aboard the Galley. Their entertainments were splendid. Music and all things that could promote mirth were procured. But who can express the affliction of those poor creatures, who had only a prospect of Pleasure: and whilst others revelled at their ease, were sinking under a load of chains, pinched with hunger in their stomachs, and nothing to support their dejected spirits.

Nay, and what is worse, they are forced to add to the pomp and honour done to Great Men who visit their Officers: but in such a manner as moves the compassion of all who are not used to such dismal solemnities.

When a Person of Quality comes on board, the Comite gives twice notice with his whistle. The first time, they are all attentive: and the second, the Slaves are obliged to salute, as they call it, three times; not with a cheerful 'Huzza!' as in an English Man of War; but by howling in a piteous tone; making a lamentable complaining outcry.

When the badness of the weather hinders the Gallies from putting to sea; such as have Trades work in the Galley. Such as have none, learn to knit coarse stockings: the Comite for whose profit they work, gives them yarn, and pays them about half the usual price: and this not in money, but some little victuals or wine which they are obliged to take out of the Ship's Cellar (of which the Comite is the Keeper); though it be generally bad, and dashed with water. For, though they had as much gold as they could carry, they durst not, on pain of the Bastinado, send for any wine from the shore.

The most moving spectacle of all is, to see the poor Souls that have no Trade. They clean their comrades' clothes, and destroy the vermin that torment their neighbours: who, in return, give them some small share of that scanty pittance they purchase by working.

One may imagine that such ill treatment, diet, and infection, must needs occasion frequent sickness. In that case the usage is thus:

There is in the Hold, a close dark room. The air is.

admitted only by the scuttle, two feet square: which is the only passage into it. At each end of the said room, there is a sort of a scaffold, called, 'Taular': on which the sick men are laid promiscuously; without beds or anything under them. When these are full; if there be any more, they are stretched all along the Cables: as I saw in the year 1703: when, being on the coast of Italy, in winter time, we had above threescore sick men.

In this horrid place, all kind of vermin rule with an arbitrary sway; gnawing the poor sick creatures without disturbance.

When the duties of my function called me in amongst them, to confess, advise, or administer some comfort: which was constantly twice a day, I was, in an instant, covered all over with them; it being impossible to preserve one's self from their swarms. The only way was, to go down in a night gown: which I stripped off when I came out; and, by that means, rid myself of them, by putting on my clothes.

But when I was in, methought, I walked, in a literal sense, in the Shades of Death. I was obliged, notwithstanding, to make considerable stays in this gloomy Mansion, to confess such as were ready to expire. And the whole space between the ceiling and the Taular being but three feet; I was obliged to lie down, and stretch myself along their sides to hear their confessions: and often while I was confessing one, another expired just by my side.

The stench is most intolerable: insomuch as that there is no Slave, though ever so weak; but will rather choose to tug at his oar, and expire under his chain, than to retire to this loathsome Hospital.

There is a Chirurgeon [*Surgeon*] to take care of the sick. At the first setting out of the Galley, the King lays in drugs for the use of the crew; which are always very good: and therefore the Chirurgeons make money of them in the several places we arrive at: so that the persons they are intended for, have the least benefit of them.

During the sickness, the King orders each man in the room we have described, 1 lb. of fresh bread, and the same quantity of Fresh meat, and 2 oz. of rice a day. This is the Steward's province: and he discharges his duties in such a manner, that five or six campaigns make his fortune. We have frequently had in our Galley three score and ten sick men; and the quantity of flesh allowed for that number

never exceeded 20 lbs. weight, and that bad meat too: though, as I have observed, the King's allowance is 1 lb. for every man; the rest going into his own pocket.

Once, out of curiosity, I tasted it; and found it little better than hot water. I complained to the Chirurgeon and Steward; but [they], being great [*thick*] and 'commensales' [*companions at table*], they connived at one another.

I complained to the Officers also: but for what reason (I only guess), they did not regard me. And I have too much respect for the Captain to say, That he had any reason or interest to wink at so great a piece of injustice; though he could, by his own authority, do these wretches justice: who often refused that water, made only more loathsome by the little quantity of meat put into it; and the little care used about it.

I enquired of other Chaplains, Whether the same was practised aboard their Galleys? They frankly confessed it was: but durst own no more.

After the Campaign of 1704, I, having occasion to go to Versailles, thought myself obliged, when there, to give an account to Monsieur [LOUIS PHÉLYPEAUX, Comte] DE PONT-CHARTRAIN, one of the King's Ministers, whose particular province the Sea Affairs are.

I offered him a short Memorial, and some Advices; which I thought most proper to prevent the like abuses for the future.

He was pleased to be so well satisfied, and found them so agreeable to some intimations given him before; that he regarded my advice, and offered me his Interest. The King was pleased to order me a gratuity. I left the Warrant with Monsieur THOMÉ, Treasurer General of the Galleys, living at the Marais du Temple, to serve as an acquittance for the several payments he has made me.

This is a brief Account of the Galley, and the Government thereof.

I NOW PROCEED to shew what sort of people are condemned there.

There are, in a Galley, five several sorts of people, under the notion of Slaves; besides Seamen and Soldiers: *viz.* Turks, such as are called 'Faussioners,' Deserters, Criminals, and Protestants.

The King buys the Turks to manage the stroke of the Oar, as I have already shewn; and they are called 'Vogue-avants' [*Bow-oarsmen*] and they, together with such as are on the seats called 'Banc du quartier', 'de la Conille', and 'les Espaliers' [*Stroke oars*], have the same allowance with the Soldiers. They are generally lusty strong men; and the least unfortunate of the whole crew. They are not chained: but only wear a ring on their foot, as a badge of Slavery.

When they arrive at any Port, they have liberty to trade. Some of them are worth £300 or £400. They frequently send money to their Wives and families: and (to the shame of Christians be it spoken!) there is a great deal more charity amongst them, than is to be found amongst us.

I had taken one, called TRIPOLI, for my Servant. He was a most religious observer of his Law. During the Ramadan, a Feast kept by them, the first Moon of the year; he never eat or drank from sun rising to sun setting: in spite of all the toil and fatigue of the oar, he never seemed uneasy; though ready to faint through weakness.

I could never so much as persuade him to take a little wine; though I have often urged him, merely out of compassion.

The Officers make use of no other Servants; and they are so trusty, that they are never found out in any theft or roguery.

If any, by chance, commit a fault; all the Turks importune their respective masters to intercede for him with the Captain.

If any be sick; they are all busy about him, to do him all the kind offices in their power. They club to buy him

The Story of the dying Turk.

meat, or to purchase anything that may refresh him, or do him good.

In short, in the Galleys, one would think that the Turks and the Christians had made an exchange of principles: and that the latter had abjured the Precepts of their Saviour, and that the others had taken them up. And, accordingly, preach up Christ to a Turk in a Galley; and his answer presently is that, He had rather be transformed to a dog; than be of a Religion that countenances so much barbarity, and suffers so many crimes.

I cannot omit one remarkable instance of their constancy and firm adherence to their Religion. One of them who spoke French fell sick. I found him stretched on the cable, in the place I have already described. I had done him some services: and seeing me do the duties of my function to some of his neighbours, he called me to him, and bade me farewell, telling me, That he found he could not possibly live four hours longer.

I ventured to talk to him of GOD, our Saviour CHRIST, and the principles of his Religion; and told him that 'through him alone, he was to expect Salvation.'

I found what I said made some impression.

Whereupon I embraced him; and told him, I would answer for his Soul if he would renounce MAHOMET, who was but an Impostor, and believe in JESUS CHRIST, the only Redeemer and Saviour of Mankind; whose holy and excellent doctrine he had heard me so often preach.

He told me, He would do what I thought fit.

I answered, That all I desired was his consent to receive Baptism 'without which,' I told him, 'he could expect no salvation.' I explained, in a few words, the nature and design of it: and having induced him to consent, I went for some water; and secretly told the Captain what had happened.

But, unluckily, another Turk, a friend of his (who also understood French, and had heard all that had past), whilst I was away, said something to my Proselyte in his own language: so that, by the time I came back, he had quite altered his resolution; in such wise that I could by no means persuade him to perform the promise he made me.

Nay, his friend threw himself over him; and exhorted him to continue true to the Prophet MAHOMET: in spite of

The Peasants who evade the Salt Tax.

the Comite, who was present, and threatened severely to beat him, if he desisted not. He prevailed, in despite of all; for the poor wretch died in my presence in his error.

Had I understood Religion as well as I do now, I should not, in that extremity, have insisted so much on the absolute necessity of Baptism; but, having given him a general notion of the Principles of the Christian Religion, I should have admonished him to repentance; and to implore the Divine mercy for pardon of his sins, through the merits of CHRIST: and so, in saving his Soul from death, I should have hid a multitude of my own sins. The Reader, I hope, will excuse my former error.

Though, as appears from what hath been said, the Turks on the Galleys are treated somewhat better than the Christians; and though they be in no wise molested on the score of Religion, for, whilst Mass is a saying, they are put into the caique or long-boat, where they divert themselves by smoking and talking: yet there is not one of them, but would give all the World to be at his liberty.

For the very name of a Galley is terrible to them: because, notwithstanding their treatment is pretty easy, yet they are Slaves during life; unless, when they are very old and unserviceable, they meet with friends who are willing to lay out a large sum of money for their ransom.

Which shews how little those persons are acquainted with the affairs of that nature, who say that, There are, in the Galleys, men who would not accept of their freedom; though it were offered them. It is just like talking of a Battle which one never saw, unless at a great distance; or knows nothing of, but by hearsay.

Those who are called 'Faussoniers' [*deceivers*] are generally poor Peasants, who are found to buy salt in such Provinces where it is cheap, such as the country of Burgundy, or the country of Dombes. In France, what they call a Pint of Salt, weighing four pounds, costs 3s 6d.

There are some poor peasants and their whole families, who, for want of Salt, eat no soup sometimes in a whole week: though it be their common nourishment. A man in that case, grieved to see his wife and children in a starving languishing condition, ventures to go abroad, to buy Salt in the Provinces where it is three parts in four cheaper. If

discovered; he is certainly sent to the Galleys. It is a very melancholy sight to see a Wife and children lament their Father; whom they see laden with chains, and irrevocably lost: and that for no other crime, but endeavouring to procure subsistence for those to whom he gave birth.

These, indeed, are condemned only for a time; perhaps five, six, or eight, years: but the misfortune is, that having served out their time, if they outlive it, they are still unjustly detained. For Penance, and Masses, avail nothing in this Purgatory! Indulgences are excluded, especially if the man be unfortunately strong and robust; let his Sentence be what it will! The King's Orders are that, when the time of the Sentence is expired, they should be set at liberty, and sent home. But in this, as in many other cases, his Orders are not duly put in execution: which, indeed, does not excuse him! since a good Prince is obliged to have an eye on the Administration of his Ministers and Servants.

As for Deserters; their sentence runs during life. Formerly they used to cut off their nose and ears: but, because they stank, and commonly infected the whole crew; they only now give them a little slit.

Though these are inexcusable: because desertion is, upon several accounts, dangerous and base; yet it moves one's pity, to see young men, who often happen to descend from good Families, condemned to so wretched and so miserable a life.

Such as are condemned for Crimes, are generally 'Filous' [*Pickpockets*], Sharpers, Rooks [*Cheats*], or Highwaymen. The most notorious Villains are [the] least daunted; and take heart soonest. They presently strike up a friendship with those of their own gang. They tell over their old rogueries, and boast of their crimes: and the greatest villain passes for the greatest hero.

The misery they have reduced themselves to, is so far from working any amendment, that it makes them more desperate and wicked: insomuch that if any stranger chances to come aboard, though it were but a handkerchief or some such trifle, they will certainly steal it, if they can. Their common employment is to forge Titles, to engrave false Seals, and to counterfeit Handwriting: and these they

sell to others as bad as themselves; that often come in, some time after, to bear them company. But though they feel no remorse; yet they feel the Comite! who, with a rope's end, often visits their shoulders; but then, instead of complaining, they vomit out oaths and blasphemies enough to make a man's hair stand on end.

There was one who, shewing me the mark the rope had made about his neck, bragged that, though he had escaped the gallows, he was not thereby grown a coward: but that, as soon as ever he had been at liberty, he had robbed the first person he met with. And that, having been taken, and brought before a Judge who knew him not; he had been only condemned to the Galleys: where, he thanked GOD! he was sure of bread and good company, the remainder of his days.

It is certain, that how terrible and hard soever the usage of such may be in the Galleys: yet it is too mild for them! for, in spite of all the misery they endure, they are guilty of crimes too abominable to be here related.

Over which, we shall draw a veil; and go on to the Protestants: who are there purely because they chose rather to obey GOD than Man; and were not willing to exchange their Souls for the gain of the World. It is not the least aggravating circumstance of their misery, to be condemned to such hellish company. They who have so great a value for the Truth of Religion as to prefer it to their worldly Interest, must be supposed to be indued with too much Virtue, not to be in pain and under concern for the open breach of its rules, and the unworthiness of its Professors.

THE PROTESTANTS, NOW on the Galleys, have been condemned thither at several times.

The first were put in, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes [October 18 1685]. The term prefixed for the fatal choice of either Abjuring their Religion, or Leaving the Kingdom, was a fortnight: and that, upon pain of being condemned to the Galleys. But this liberty, by many base artifices and unjust methods, was rendered useless, and of none effect. There were often secret orders, by the contrivance of the Clergy, to prevent their embarking; and to hinder the selling of their substance. Their debtors were absolved by their Confessors; when they denied [the payment of] a debt. Children were forced from their fathers' and mothers' arms; in hopes that the tenderness of the Parent might prevail over the zeal of the Christian. They, indeed, were not massacred, as in HEROD's time: but the blood of the Fathers was mingled with their tears. For many Ministers, who had zeal and constancy enough to brave the severest punishments, were broken alive upon Wheels, without mercy; whenever surprised discharging the duties of their function. The Registers and Courts of Justice where the Sentences were pronounced against them are recorded; and the Executioners of them, are lasting monuments of the bloody temper and fury of Popery.

The Laity were forbidden, on pain of the Galleys, leaving the Kingdom, on any pretence whatsoever. But what Posterity will scarcely believe! the Protestants of all Sexes, Ages, and Conditions, used to fly through deserts and wild impracticable ways; they committed their lives to the mercy of the seas, and ran innumerable hazards; to avoid either Idolatry or Martyrdom. Some escaped very happily [*fortunately*]; in spite of the vigilance of the Dragoons and Bailiffs: but a great many fell into their hands. The Prisons were filled with Confessors.

But the saddest spectacle of all, was to see 200 men at a time, chained together, going to the Galleys; and above

Bancilhon, Serres, and Sabattier, in the Chateau d'If.

100 of that number, Protestants. And what was barbarous and unjust to the last degree, was that they were obliged, when there, on pain of the Bastinado, to bow before the Host, and to hear Mass: and yet, that was the only crime for which they had been condemned thither.

For suppose they were in the wrong, in obstinately refusing to change their Religion; the Galleys were the punishment! Why then, were they required to do that, which had been the Cause of their condemnation? Especially since there is a Law in France, that positively forbids a Double Punishment for one and the same fault, *viz.*, *Non bis punitur in idem*. But in France, properly speaking, there is no Law; where the King's commands are absolute and peremptory. I have seen a General Bastinado on that account; which I shall describe in its proper place. [See pp. 457-460].

It is certain, that though there were at first a very great number of Protestants condemned to the Galleys; the Bastinado and other Torments hath destroyed [between 1685 and 1707] above Three parts of Four: and the most of those who are still alive are in Dungeons, as Messieurs BANCILHON, DE SERRES, and SABATTIER, who are confined to a Dungeon at Château d'If; a Fort built upon a rock in the sea, three miles from Marseilles.

But the generous constancy of this last, about eight or ten months ago [? 1706], deserves a place in this History; and challenges the admiration of all true Protestants.

Monsieur [FRANÇOIS] SABATTIER, whose charity and zeal equal those of the Primitive Christians, having a little money, distributed it to his brethren and fellow Sufferers in the Galleys. But the Protestants being watched more narrowly than the rest; he could not do it so secretly but he was discovered, and brought before Monsieur DE MONTMORT, Intendant of the Galleys at Marseilles.

Being asked; he did not deny the fact.

Monsieur MONTMORT not only promised him his Pardon: but a reward if he would declare, Who it was that had given him that money?

Monsieur SABATTIER modestly answered that, 'He should be guilty of ingratitude before GOD and Man; if, by any Confession he should bring them into trouble who had been so charitable to him, That his person was at his

François Sabattier is bastinadoed.

disposal: but he desired to be excused as to the secret expected from him.'

The Intendant replied, He had a way to make him tell; and that immediately.

Whereupon, he sent for some Turks who, at his command, stripped SABATTIER stark naked; and beat him at several times with rope ends and cudgels during three days. And seeing this did not prevail over this generous Confessor; he himself (which never happened to an Intendant before) turned Executioner! striking him with his cane; and telling the bystanders 'See, what a devil of a Religion this is!' These were his own expressions; as is credibly reported by persons that were present. The Gazettes and Public Letters gave us an Account of the same.

At last, seeing he was ready to expire; he commanded him into a Dungeon where, maugre all torments, Providence hath preserved him to this day. [He was released in 1713.]

But though most of the Protestants of the first date are destroyed: yet the Wars in the Cevennes [1702-1705] have furnished them with more than enough to fill the vacant places. These Wars may be properly called, A Second Persecution: because the cruelty and inveterate malice of a Popish Priest was the occasion and first cause of them.

One of the most bitter and passionate Enemies of the Protestants was the Abbot DU CHELAS; whose benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of the Protestants in his district.

Whenever he missed them at Mass; he used to send for them, under some pretence or other, to his house: and used to make his servants tie them (whether men, women or maidens) to a tree, stripped down to their waist; and then, with horsewhips, [he] scourged them till the blood gushed out.

This the Papists themselves do not deny; who own that this DU CHELAS was an ill [*bad*] man: and yet this his proceeding against the Protestants, being meritorious at Court, he had encouragement to hope for a reward.

But, at last, his Protestant neighbours, perceiving there were no hopes of pacifying this Monster by submission and fair means, grew desperate: and, one night, invested his

house. He leaped out of his window into his garden; but not being able to get out, he begged Quarter: but, as he had never granted any, they served him in his kind, by killing him.

And because they were sure of being pursued; they kept the country: and, by degrees, their numbers increased. All that were tormented for not going to Mass, made a body and joined them.

GOD blessed their Arms with success for some time: but (for good reasons, no doubt; though unknown to us) he gave them up into the hands of their Enemies: and not only them; but the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, as the Vivarais and Languedoc. And [on] the bare suspicion of being in their Interest, those with whom any Arms were found, those who refused to frequent the Mass, were either hanged, or broken on the Wheel.

That pretended Rebellion was made use of, as a pretence, to send to the Gallies several rich Protestant Merchants.

There is, since that time, a Gentleman, Monsieur [FRANÇOIS PELET, BARON DE] SALGAS by name, who, before the Repealing of the Edict of Nantes, enjoyed a plentiful estate in the Cevennes. In order to keep it; he abjured his Religion, and promised to go to Mass. His spouse, a worthy Lady (with whom I have often conversed at Geneva, where she lives) refused: and generously rejected all proposals on that subject.

Seeing they threatened her with a Cloister; she endeavoured to gain time: but, at last, her husband told her, That there was a positive Order from the Court to confine her, if she did not comply and go to Mass.

This courageous Lady, who deserves to be a pattern of Piety and Zeal to Posterity, having, by prayer and other acts of devotion implored the Divine assistance, resolved to quit her country, her husband, children, and estate, and all that is dear and precious here below.

She took her opportunity, one day, when her Husband was gone a hunting, without communicating anything of her design to anybody, but to such as were instrumental in her escape. She retired to Geneva; where she might have liberty to make an open Profession of her Religion, and bemoan the misfortune of her family.

Some time after, the Wars of the Cevennes broke out.

Monsieur DE SALGAS was accused of assisting the Canisards with provisions; and, in spite of his hypocrisy and pretended zeal for his new Religion, he was sent to the Galleys.

But, here, we must admire the wisdom of Providence; very remarkable in this dispensation. For this has proved the means to open his own eyes; and to let him see his error: as appears from the penitential Letters he writes to his friends, his Christianlike behaviour under his Sufferings, his Exhortations to his fellow Sufferers, and the noble and pious example he shews them.

He hath had frequent offers made him, of being restored to his estate on the same conditions he had preserved it before; but he hath hitherto been proof against all their attempts.

He was, some years ago, put into the Hospital General for the Galleys, at Marseilles. This is a kind of Manufactory [?]; where their treatment is somewhat easier than in the Galleys.

But, at the siege of Toulon [1707], he and all his brethren were taken out of that Hospital; and reduced to their old station and former miserable condition: besides losing 12 or 14 Louis d'Or [= £12 or £14] which he had procured, to purchase such necessaries as might keep up and support his spirits under the hardships he endured.

This account came to his Lady, while I was there [Therefore BION was at Geneva in 1707]; who is, as one may easily imagine, under an inexpressible concern for the miseries her Husband groans under.

But it is time to bring this sad Relation to a conclusion. In order whereunto, I shall, according to my promise, give an Account of the General Bastinado, at which I was present; and it was not the least means of my Conversion. GOD grant that it may be effectual to my Salvation!

In the year 1708, several Protestants out of Languedoc and the Cevennes, were put on board our Galley.

They were narrowly watched and observed.

I was mightily surprised, one Sunday morning, after saying Mass on the Bancasse (a table so placed, that all in the Galley may see the Priest when he elevates the Host)

to hear the Comite say, He was going to give the Huguenots the Bastinado; because they did not kneel, nor show any respect to the mysteries of the Mass: and that he was going to acquaint the Captain therewith.

The very name of Bastinado terrified me: and, though I had never seen this fearful Execution, I begged the Comite to forbear till the next Sunday; and that, in the mean time, I would endeavour to convince them of what I (then) thought their duty, and mine own.

Accordingly, I used all the means I could possibly think of, to that effect: sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals and doing them some good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed them; and often urging the King's command, and quoting the passage of St. PAUL that, He who resists the Higher Powers, resists GOD!

I had not, at that time, any design to oblige them to do anything against their Consciences. I must confess, that what I did, at that time, chiefly proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness.

This was the cause of my zeal: which had been more fatal to them; had not GOD endued them with resolution and virtue sufficient to bear up against my arguments, and the terrible Execution they had in view.

I could not but admire, at once both the modesty of their Answers and greatness of their Courage. 'The King' said they, 'is indeed Master over our Bodies; but not of our Consciences!'

At last, the dreadful day being come; the Comite narrowly observed them to see the fruit of my labours. There were only Two, out of the Twenty, that bowed their knee to BAAL:

The rest generously refused it: and were accordingly, by the Captain's Command, served in the manner following.

Here, like another ÆNEAS (with regret calling to mind the miseries and ruin of his own country, the very memory whereof struck his Soul with horror), I may truly say,

Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem!

In order to the Execution, every man's chains were taken off; and they were put into the hands of four Turks: who stripped them stark naked, and stretched them upon the Coursier, the Great Gun we have described in the

The Bastinados convert Bion to Protestantism.

Preface [see page 438]. There they are so held that they cannot so much as stir. During that time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole Galley. It is so cruel a scene that the most profligate obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight: but are forced to turn away their eyes.

The victim thus prepared, the Turk pitched upon to be the Executioner, with a tough cudgel or knotty rope's end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch; and that too the more willingly, because he thinks that it is acceptable to his Prophet, MAHOMET.

But the most barbarous thing of all is, that, after the skin is flayed off their bones, the only balsam they apply to their wounds is a mixture of Vinegar and Salt.

After this, they are thrown into the [Galley's] Hospital already described. [See page 445.]

I went thither, after the Execution; and could not refrain from tears at the sight of so much Barbarity. They quickly perceived it; and, though scarce able to speak through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed; and the kindness I had always shewn them.

I went with a design to administer some comfort; but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself.

It was wonderful, to see with what true Christian Patience and Constancy they bore their torments! in the extremity of their pain, never expressing anything like rage; but calling upon Almighty GOD, and imploring his assistance.

I visited them, day by day; and, as often as I did, my Conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a Religion; whose capital Errors I had long before perceived: and, above all, that inspired so much Cruelty; a temper directly opposite to the Spirit of Christianity. At last, their wounds, like so many mouths, preached to me, made me sensible of my Error, and experimentally taught me the excellency of the Protestant Religion.

But it is high time to conclude; and draw a Curtain over this horrid scene; which presents us with none but ghastly sights and transactions, full of Barbarity and Injustice: but which all shew how false what they pretend

The Virtue, Constancy, and Zeal, of the Huguenots.

in France is, for detaining the Protestants in the Gallies, *viz.*, That they do not suffer there, upon a Religious, but a Civil account; being condemned for Rebellion and Disobedience.

The Punishments inflicted on them, when they refuse to adore the Host; the rewards and advantages offered them, on their compliance in that particular; are a sufficient Argument against them: there being no such offers made to such who are condemned for Crimes. It shows the World also, the almost incredible Barbarity used against the French Protestants; and, at the same time, sets off, in a most glorious manner, their Virtue, Constancy, and Zeal for their holy Religion.

FINIS.

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This Index, besides Personal Names, contains the names of all Cities and Villages in France connected with the Huguenots, but not of Provinces or Districts, that are mentioned in this Volume.

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There is something, I say, in this punishment more dreadful and terrible than the Wheel: for they are *upon the point of death*, and yet they are not put to death; and the Executioners never give over striking till they be weary, and out of breath; and are forced to send the Sufferers to the Hospital. Who could forbear trembling, and being deeply affected, at the sight of so amazing a spectacle! Who could believe that such as bear the name of Christians could harden their bowels to that degree, as to inflict such horrible torments!

The same Letter of October the 16th, acquaints us

As to particulars, I must tell you, with unspeakable grief, that all the Galleys almost have been severely treated; except the 'Old Reale' appointed for the disabled Slaves, and some others: and that they have cruelly butchered all those who would not put off the Cap; insomuch that in some Galleys six or seven Slaves, or more, of the same Galley, have been stretched on the rack [*i.e. the Gangway*] and struck 50, 100, and 120 times, with a rope in many places done over with pitch and tar, and dipped in the sea: and that they have inflicted twice, thrice, four times, or more, this cruel punishment on them till they had promised to put the Cap off, or that the Tormenters had been forced to send them to the Hospital.

They add to it, That Monsieur MAURIN underwent the same torment three, and I think four, times: and he was, last Monday, shut up in one of the Dungeons of the Hospital. That Monsieur CARRIÈRE and Monsieur LOSTALET have been twice most cruelly abused; having received, at one and the same time, six score blows each; so that they have been forced to send them away very sick, raw, and bruised, to the Hospital. Monsieur LOSTALET hath been, all along, constant and steady, as well as Monsieur SERRES, MAURIN, GRANGE, and PELEVIER; and are all now in the Hospital, very sick with the blows they received. They add, That Monsieur LOSTALET was exposed to so great sufferings that he is not able to stir out of his bed, but by the help of some ropes hanging down from the ceiling, and of some men besides.

The Major declared, to-day, That they would be let alone till they are recovered: and then they should be racked [*flogged*] again and again, till they should either die, or promise to put their Caps off to the Host.

CHAPTER II.

Of Wisdom, Learning, and Understanding.

Aristotle.

UNDERSTANDING IS a light, which GOD poureth into Man's Soul.

Wisdom is the knowledge of divine things ; and is the head of all other Sciences.

Socrates.

Wisdom is Life ; and Ignorance is Death. Wherefore the wise man liveth, for why [*because*] he understandeth what he doeth : but the ignorant is dead ; because he doth he knoweth not what.

Plato.

Of all the gifts of GOD, Wisdom is chiefest. Wisdom ordereth the mind. She directeth the life, and ruleth the works thereof ; teaching what ought to be done, and what to be left undone : without which no man may be safe.

Wisdom teacheth to do, as well as to speak.

Of all the gifts of GOD, Wisdom is [the] most excellent. She giveth goodness to the good ; and forgiveth the wicked their wickedness.

To men of low degree, Wisdom is an honour ; and Foolishness is a shame to men of high degree.

Wisdom garnisheth [*adorneth*] Riches ; and shadoweth [*casteth into the shadow*] Poverty.

Wisdom is the defence of the Soul, and the mirror of Reason ; and therefore blessed is he that travaileth [*labours*] to get her : for she is the ground and root of all noble deeds. By her, we obtain the Chief Good, that is, Eternal Felicity.

Seneca.

Prudence is the guide of all other good Virtues.

Intelligence is King both of heaven and earth. *Hermes.*

Hermes.

Of all the good gifts of GOD, Wisdom is the purest. She giveth goodness to good people; and obtaineth for the wicked pardon for their wickedness. She maketh the poor rich; and the rich honourable: and such as unfeignedly embrace her, she maketh like to GOD.

Wisdom and Justice are honourable, both to GOD and man.

Intelligence is King both of heaven and earth.

Wisdom is the messenger of Reason.

Pythagoras.

Wisdom, at the beginning, seemeth a great wonder.

Wisdom is like a thing fallen into the water; which no man can find, except he search [for] it at the bottom.

Wisdom thoroughly learned, will never be forgotten.

Science is got by diligence; but Discretion and Wisdom cometh of GOD.

Socrates.

In the company of Wise Men is rest; but in the fellowship of Fools is nothing but labour.

A wise man ought not to sorrow for his losses; but to be careful to keep the rest of his goods.

A wise man is known by two points. He will not lightly [*easily*] be angry for the wrong that is done him: neither is [he] proud, when he is praised.

He that seeketh Wisdom the right way, findeth her: but many err, because they seek her not duly; and blame her without cause.

Isocrates.

A wise man is known by three points. In making his enemies his friends: in making the rude learned: and in reforming the evil-disposed unto goodness.

He is wise that acknowledgeth his ignorance: and he is ignorant that knoweth not himself.

Seneca.

There is none happy, but the wise man.

Wise men, for the Truth's sake, ought to contrary [*oppose*] one another; that, by their contention, the Truth may the better be known.

Plato.

It is better to be wise, and not to seem so; than to

Hermes. Wisdom teacheth Man to know his Creator.

seem wise, and not to be so: yet men, for the most part, desire the contrary.

A wise man understandeth both the things that are above him; and those also that are beneath him. He knoweth the things that are above him, by the benefits which he receiveth thereby; and [the] things beneath him, by the use and profit that he hath by them.

Hermes.

Wisdom teacheth Man to know his Creator.

Seneca.

A perfect wise man mortifieth his worldly desires; by means whereof he subdueth both his Soul and body.

He that desireth Wisdom, desireth the most high and divine estate.

He that findeth Wisdom, findeth Life; both in this world, and in the world to come.

It is not possible for him to be wise, that desireth not to be good.

Aristotle.

A young man cannot be perfectly wise. For Wisdom requireth Experience; which, for lack of time, young men may not have.

A wise man ought to repute his error great; and his goodness small.

Seneca.

The wise man, and not the rich, is void of misery.

He shall be wise, that enhaunteth [*frequenteth*] wise men's company.

It is not uncomely, for Wisdom's sake, for a man to be in subjection, to whomsoever it be.

A wise man is known by silence; and a fool, by much babbling.

Learning maketh young men sober. It comforteth old men. It is riches to the poor; and it garnisheth [*adorns*] the rich.

It is a shame for a wise man to say, 'I thought not so much!'

Pythagoras.

Much babbling is [a] sign of small knowledge.

Knowledge is better in Youth than in Age.

Learning is Study's sister.

Plato.

The best kind of Learning is to unlearn our evils.

No man may refrain from doing amiss; but a wise man, by one peril, will avoid another.

Plato.

Wisdom in the heart of a Fool is like a flying thing, that cannot long continue in one place.

A man of perfect wisdom cannot die; and a man of good understanding cannot be poor.

Learning is Study's sister.

Wisdom is a tree which springeth in the heart; and beareth fruit in the tongue.

Without study of Wisdom, the mind is sick.

Early rising and much watching are profitable to keep a man in health; and to increase his riches and wisdom.

A man without Science is like a realm without a King.

Aristotle.

Science, separate from Justice and Virtue, is not Wisdom; but Subtilty.

Nothing becometh a wise man so much as Temperance.

He that is worshipped for wisdom, is angry with them that despise it.

Seneca.

Of all things, the least quantity is easiest to be borne; save of Knowledge and Science: of which the more that a man hath, the better he may bear it.

A wise man knoweth what Ignorance is; because he himself, before time, hath been ignorant: but the ignorant [man] was never wise; and therefore he knoweth not what Wisdom is.

The true lovers of Wisdom shall see GOD!

Power and Might is in young men; but Wisdom and Prudence is in the aged.

Socrates.

‘Be gentle and loving to everybody!’

Whatsoever thou wilt speak; before thou shew it to another, shew it secretly to thyself!

Whatsoever thou wilt have kept secret; shew it to nobody!

Search forth the Cause of every deed!

Let not thy thoughts depart from the Truth!

Promise, with consideration; and perform faithfully!

Praise little; but dispraise less!

Let not the authority of the speaker persuade thee; nor regard thou his person that speaketh: but mark well what it is that is spoken!

Perform more fully, than thou hast promised!

Such things as thou hast, use thou as thine own! and keep them not, as if they were another body’s!

Be gentle and loving to everybody!

Flatter none!

Be familiar with few!

Be indifferent [*impartial*] and equal towards every man!

Be slow to wrath! swift to mercy and pity!

Be constant and patient in adversity; and in prosperity wary and lowly!

Worship gentleness; and hate cruelty!

Flee and eschew [*avoid*] thine own vices; and be not curious to search out other men’s!

Be not busy to upbraid men with their faults; for so shalt thou be hated of everybody!

Sometimes, among earnest things, use merry conceits; but measurably!

Live with thine underlings, as thou wouldest thy betters should live with thee: and do to all men, as thou wouldest be done by!

Think not thyself to be that, which thou art not; nor desire to seem greater than thou art indeed!

Think [that] all things may be suffered; save filthiness and vice!

Eat rather for hunger; than for pleasure and delight.

Solon.

Be apt to learn Wisdom; and diligent to teach it!

Be merry, without laughter!

Thou shalt be loved of GOD, if thou follow him in this point! In desire to do good to all men; and to hurt nobody.

him, which was that he should drink poison, could not be revoked.

The King had a ship, freighted with sacrifices, which he offered to his idols; which then was abroad: and he would never give any Sentence upon a man’s death, before it came [back] to Athens.

Wherefore one of SOCRATES’s friends, called, INCITTES, counselled him to give a certain sum of money to the Keepers, to let him [e]scape away secretly; and so to go to Rome.

But SOCRATES said, He had not so much.

Then said INCITTES, ‘I and my friends have so much; which we will gladly give, to save thy life.’

To which SOCRATES answered, ‘I thank you and my friends! but since this City, wherein I must suffer my death, is the natural place of my birth; I had rather die here than elsewhere. For if I die here in my country, without deserving [it]: only because I reprove their wickedness, and their worshipping of vain idols; and would have them worship the true GOD. If these men, of mine own nation, persecute me for saying and maintaining Truth; even so will strangers wheresoever I be come; for I will never spare to say the Truth. And, surely, strangers would have less mercy on me, than mine own countryfolks!’

Being thus minded; he continued still in prison, teaching his Scholars, which resorted to him, many things; both of the composition of the Elements, and also of the Soul. But [he] would write nothing. For he said, That Wisdom ought to be written in men’s hearts; and not on beasts’ skins. Nevertheless, his disciple, PLATO, wrote well nigh all that he taught.

A little before he should be put to death; he desired that he might bathe himself and say his Orations [*Prayers*]; which he did: and [then] called his Wife and children, and gave them good instruction.

And when he went toward the place where he should finish his life; his Wife went after him, crying, ‘Alas! my Husband dieth guiltless!’ To whom he said, ‘Why, woman! wouldest thou have me die otherwise?’, and sent her away.

So when the Cup of Poison was delivered him to drink,

Similitudes.

As Plants, measurably watered, grow the better; but watered too much are drowned and die: so the Mind, with moderate labour, is refreshed; but, with over much, is utterly dulled.

As empty vessels make the loudest sound: they that have least wit are the greatest babblers.

Like as a Ship, that hath a sure Anchor, may lie safely in any place: right so the Mind, that is ruled by perfect Reason, is quiet everywhere.

Like as narrow-mouthed Vessels, which are longest in filling, keep their liquor the better: so Wits, that are slow in taking, are best of all to retain that they learn.

As Iron and Brass are the brighter for the wearing: so the Wit is most ready that is most occupied.

Like as the Chameleon hath all colours, save white: so hath a Flatterer all points, save Honesty.

As a precious Stone in a gold ring; so shineth a Heart that is settled in virtuousness.

Like as a Field (although it be fertile) can bring forth no good fruit; except it be first tilled: so the Mind (although it be apt of itself) cannot, without Learning, bring forth any goodness.

As the Plough rooteth out from the earth all brambles and thistles: even so Wisdom rooteth out all vices from the mind.

As the Shadow followeth the body; so Praise followeth Virtue. And as the Shadow goeth sometimes before, and sometimes behind; so doth Praise also to Virtue: but the later that it cometh, the greater it is; and the more of value.

As a man appeareth more in a mist than in clear weather: so appeareth his vice more when he is angry, than when he is at quiet.

Like as the Fire wasteth the firebrand: so doth Scornfulness waste love between friends.

As men, for their bodily health, do abstain from evil meats: so ought they to abstain from sin, for the salvation of their Souls.

As Health preserveth the body; so Wisdom conserveth the Soul.

As a Captain is the Director of a whole host: so Reason joined with Knowledge is the Guide of Life.

Like as a hand is no part of [a] man, except it can do the office of a hand: so is Wisdom no part of a wise man,

Similitudes.

except it be occupied [*made use of*] as it should be.

As a golden Bridle, although it garnish [*adorn*] a horse ; yet maketh him never the better : so although Riches garnish a man ; yet can they not make him good.

Like as Age followeth Youth ; even so Death followeth Age.

As to the good, their goodness is a reward : so to the wicked, their wickedness is a punishment.

Like as Grief is the disease of the body : so is Malice a sickness of the Soul.

As a man, in a dark cave, may not see his own proper figure ; so the Soul, that is not clean and pure, cannot perceive the true and perfect goodness of Almighty GOD.

As GOD surmounteth all other creatures : so the remembrance of him surmounteth all other imaginations.

As Liberality maketh friends of enemies ; so Pride maketh enemies of friends.

Like as bees, out of Flowers, suck forth the sweetest ; so should men, out of Sciences, learn that [which] is best.

As Ivy, in every place, findeth somewhat to cleave to : so Love is never lightly [*easily*] without a subject.

Like as rain may not profit the corn that is sown upon dry stones ; so neither Teaching, nor Study, may profit a Fool to learn Wisdom.

As Fire and Heat are inseparable ; so are the hearts of faithful Friends.

Like as the body is an instrument of the Soul ; so is the Soul an instrument of GOD.

Like as they which bring up horses well, teach them first to follow the bridle : so they that teach children should first teach them to give ear to that which is spoken.

As a Looking Glass representeth everything that is [over] against it : even so doth a Flatterer.

Where as is no Light, there is no Shadow ; and where as is no Wealth, there is no Envy.

Like as an Adamant draweth, by little and little, the heavy iron until, at the last, it be joined with it : so Virtue and Wisdom join men unto them.

As he which, in a Game Place, runneth swiftest, and continueth still his pace, obtaineth the crown for his labour : so all that diligently learn, and earnestly follow, Wisdom and Virtue shall be crowned with Everlasting Glory.

